



# ***Daily Report***

## **Sub-Saharan Africa**

FBIS-AFR-90-087  
Friday  
4 May 1990

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## CONTENTS

4 May 1990

**NOTICE TO READERS:** An \* indicates material not disseminated in electronic form.

### INTERNATIONAL AFFAIRS

- \* Senghor Discusses Crisis in African Nations  
[LA GAZETTE DU GOLFE (EDITION INTERNATIONALE) 1-15 Apr] ..... 1
- \* Germany Reportedly Disengaging From Africa [London AFRICA ANALYSIS 30 Mar] ..... 2

### INTER-AFRICAN AFFAIRS

- \* More Nations Dealing Openly With South Africa [SUNDAY STAR 25 Mar] ..... 3

### CENTRAL AFRICA

#### Chad

- New Clashes With 'Islamic Legion' Reported [AFP] ..... 5
- Communique Issued on Fighting [Njamena Radio] ..... 5

#### Zaire

- Mobutu Clarifies 'Misunderstandings' in Message [PANA] ..... 5
- Mobutu Denounces 'Atmosphere of Division' [Mbuji-Mayi Radio] ..... 6
- UDPS Leader on Transitional Government Role [AFP] ..... 6
- MPR Selects New Chairman After Mobutu Speech [PANA] ..... 7
- Political Refugees in Belgium on Mobutu Decision [AFP] ..... 7
- Congolese Liberation Movement Wants Conference [AFP] ..... 7
- Former Interior Minister Registers Party [PANA] ..... 8

### EAST AFRICA

#### Ethiopia

- Rebels Report Battle Victory in Eritrea [Voice of Broad Masses] ..... 9
- Rebels Claim 500 Troops Killed, Weapons Captured [Voice of the Ethiopian People] ..... 9

#### Tanzania

- Mwinyi Returns From Nordic Countries Tour [Dar es Salaam Radio] ..... 9
- President Says Multiparty System Possible [KNA] ..... 9
- President Mwinyi Delivers May Day Address [Dar es Salaam Radio] ..... 9

### REPUBLIC OF SOUTH AFRICA

- Further Reportage on ANC-Government Talks ..... 11
- Municipalities Welcome Talks [SOWETAN 3 May] ..... 11
- PAC Attacks ANC Over Talks [Umtata Radio] ..... 11
- Tutu Discusses Talks [Johannesburg International] ..... 11
- De Klerk, Mandela on Health Services [SAPA] ..... 11
- NP Applauds De Klerk on Negotiations [Johannesburg TV] ..... 12
- Communique Notes 'Penetrating' Talks [SAPA] ..... 12
- Groote Schuur Security 'Strict' [Johannesburg TV] ..... 12
- 'Significant Progress' Possible [SAPA] ..... 12
- 'Exceptional' Rapport Noted [SAPA] ..... 13
- 4 May Talks Resume Early [SAPA] ..... 13

ANC's Mbeki Addresses Cape Town Press Club [SAPA]	13
More on Mbeki's Press Club Address [SAPA]	14
Mbeki on 'Danger' of White Fear [SAPA]	14
Mbeki on SABC, Press Role [SAPA]	14
PAC's Alexander Said 'Stable' After Accident [SAPA]	15
Leaders Suspicious Over Accident [SAPA]	15
* Mandela's Abilities 'Fail' To Meet Expectations [FINANCIAL MAIL 6 Apr]	15
* Rightwing 'Protection' Group Formed [THE CITIZEN 7 Apr]	16
* Recently Formed Rightwing Groups Surveyed [SUNDAY STAR 8 Apr]	17
* Analysis Refutes CP-AWB Connection [Durban THE DAILY NEWS 2 Apr]	18
* COSATU Urges MDM To Build Structures [THE NEW NATION 16-22 Mar]	19
* Lekota Says Government To Blame for Unrest [THE NEW NATION 16-22 Mar]	21
* Joe Slovo Discusses Socialism, Democracy [THE NEW NATION 16-22 Mar]	22
* New Constitution Needed To Save Economy [CAPE TIMES 13 Mar]	25
* ANC Dissident Group Opposes Negotiations [SOWETAN 30 Mar]	27
* Taiwan Navy Chief Denies Weapons Projects [THE STAR 27 Mar]	28
* CP Accuses ANC of Destabilizing Homelands [PATRIOT 23 Mar]	28
* Conservative Party Calls Country 'Last Domino' [PATRIOT 30 Mar]	29
* National Party Losing Support in Johannesburg [THE STAR 3 Apr]	29

## SOUTHERN AFRICA

### Madagascar

* Conditions Inside Antanimora Prison Described [MADAGASCAR TRIBUNE 21, 22 Mar]	31
* Political Scene Encourages 'Exile' To Return [MADAGASCAR TRIBUNE 21 Mar]	32
* Andriamanjato Advocates Free Market Economy [MADAGASCAR TRIBUNE 30 Mar]	33
* Rebirth of PSD, Resampa Makes Demands [MADAGASCAR TRIBUNE 24 Mar]	33
* \$48 Million From World Bank for Private Sector [MADAGASCAR TRIBUNE 27 Mar]	34

### Mauritius

* Kowlessur on Police Operations, Policy [LE MAURICIEN 9 Apr]	35
---	----

### Mozambique

Government Makes Contacts on Peace Talks [Maputo Radio]	36
Swazi Prime Minister, Delegation Arrive 2 May [Maputo Radio]	36
Discusses Economic Cooperation [THE TIMES OF SWAZILAND 3 May]	36
Begins Official Talks [Maputo Radio]	36
Wants To Strengthen Ties [Mbabane Radio]	37
Meets With Machungo 2 May [Mbabane TV]	37
Mocumbi To Meet Zimbabwe's Shamuyarira in Beira [Maputo Radio]	38
Begins Opening Session [Maputo Radio]	38
Polish Official Pledges Continued Assistance [Maputo International]	38
Government Forces Recapture Chigubo 22 Apr [Maputo Radio]	38
* Portuguese Industrial Cooperation Announced [NOTICIAS 6 Mar]	38
* Machungo Speaks on Land Distribution [NOTICIAS 5 Mar]	39
* Pemba Airport Expansion Enters First Phase [NOTICIAS 8 Mar]	39
* British Firms To Explore for Diatomites [NOTICIAS 6 Mar]	40

### Zimbabwe

Mugabe Urges Constitutional Land Changes [THE STAR 3 May]	40
Mugabe Addresses Parliament on Housing Shortage [Johannesburg International]	40
* Steel, Pipe Company Issue Involves Nkomo [THE FINANCIAL GAZETTE 30 Mar]	40
* ZANU (PF) Issues Election Manifesto [THE HERALD 5 Mar]	41
* Libyan Embassy Makes Political Contribution [THE HERALD 28 Mar]	44
* De Klerk Should Disband 'Radio Truth' [THE HERALD 31 Mar]	45

### Guinea-Bissau

Communique Accuses Senegal of Overflights [PANA]	46
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**\* Senghor Discusses Crisis in African Nations**

90AF0064A Cotonou LA GAZETTE DU GOLFE  
(EDITION INTERNATIONALE) in French  
1-15 Apr 90 p 12

[Interview with Leopold Sedar Senghor, former president of Senegal, by Tshitenge L. Muitubile K.: "The Single Party Is Contrary to African Tradition;" first paragraph is LA GAZETTE DU GOLFE introduction]

[Text] Leopold Sedar Senghor, former president of Senegal and the first African chief of state to have voluntarily retired from office, gives a lucid account of the political crisis buffeting various African countries. In an exclusive interview at MFI [expansion unknown] he asserts that the single party system is not needed to shape a nation: "The single party is contrary to African tradition."

[LA GAZETTE DU GOLFE] The crisis being currently experienced by various African countries expresses a need for democracy. Do you believe that the African power concept, based on the single party, is now a thing of the past?

[Senghor] Certainly! However, there are countries, like Senegal, where the problem is different: we are a pluralist democracy. To be sure, in many African countries, democracy is less and less pluralist. There has been less democracy and less pluralism since the independence. There lies the reasons for Africa's setback in the fields of economics and culture.

[LA GAZETTE DU GOLFE] Do you think that the establishment of a multiparty system can be a danger to "national unity," and to the structure or consolidation of countries in Africa?

[Senghor] Senegal showed that the single party system is not needed to shape a nation. If I entered politics, it was because my fellow citizens had sent a delegation of notables asking me, a Christian—Christians number only three to four percent in Senegal—to run for the presidency of the republic. The multiparty system reinforces democracy and leads the people to overcome differences of races, religions and, and above all, even political opinions.

[LA GAZETTE DU GOLFE] Would there be peoples for whom democracy is a good thing and others for whom it is a luxury, suicide or a threat?

[Senghor] Democracy is good for all. It is in the African political tradition. I will even specify: Black-African. Because, before the colonization, the king had to listen to the advice of his council of the throne where all races and social classes were presented. I can say that, since I taught African languages and civilizations for 15 years at the National School of Overseas France.

[LA GAZETTE DU GOLFE] How then do you explain the current trend among African leaders who pretend to practice an "African-type democracy" within single parties?

[Senghor] I believe that it is an error, for the single party, monolithism, is contrary to African tradition.

[LA GAZETTE DU GOLFE] Do you think that the establishment of democracy in Africa would open the way to development?

[Senghor] Democracy does lead to development inasmuch as the most humble and poorest citizen feels free and knows that governmental action depends partially on his will.

[LA GAZETTE DU GOLFE] There is much talk about Africa being in the process of becoming marginalized. Do you agree?

[Senghor] I believe that Africa is marginalized because, above all, there has been a great decline in education. Another factor is that we are developing our economy at the slowest pace. The truth is that France is no longer giving us all the intellectual, economic and social aid that it used to give us.

[LA GAZETTE DU GOLFE] If France withdrew from Africa to pursue other interests, would the future of the continent be threatened?

[Senghor] France's interest in Africa has not lessened; only its aid to that Africa that has achieved its independence. But it is up to the Africans to help themselves. What is happening to Africa is the fault of the governments and even of the African peoples!

[LA GAZETTE DU GOLFE] Can you be more precise on this subject?

[Senghor] I am sufficiently precise! Africa is not channeling enough of its resources to develop its educational system on the one hand and its economy and finances on the other. In Senegal, we did not reduce our resources and our development continues. When we became independent, we had something like \$250 per capita at our disposal. Our population having doubled, we now have over \$600 per capita.

[LA GAZETTE DU GOLFE] It is believed in Africa that the problems of this continent are due to the injustice of the international economic order...

[Senghor] I agree with you. Only, the reasons were the same when we were under colonization. I have a feeling that, at the end of the colonial era, the African countries strove more than they do now, both in efforts and means, to become developed. We must first engage in self-criticism and we do not do it often enough, nor seriously enough.



[LA GAZETTE DU GOLFE] Do you believe that the changes occurring in Eastern Europe can also affect Africa?

[Senghor] These changes can affect Africa, but there is no correlation.

[LA GAZETTE DU GOLFE] You are one of the founders of the concept of grouping together French-speaking peoples. The High Council of French-Speaking Peoples, of which you are the vice president, recently held its sixth session on the theme "The French-Speaking Community in International Cooperation." Can we, today, speak about an efficient and real cooperation in the French-speaking community?

[Senghor] We can speak about an efficient and real cooperation. It is the reason why education in all the French-speaking countries presents certain similarities, whether programs or methods are involved. French and mathematics are the main subjects taught, not forgetting, obviously, classical languages. To take Senegal as an example, we teach the three classical languages of the French-speaking peoples: Latin, Greek, and Arabic.

[LA GAZETTE DU GOLFE] Could the French-speaking peoples as a whole, such as you understand it today, lead to deep changes in the way Africa is managed?

[Senghor] I believe that the French-speaking peoples will enable us to develop ourselves better, to increase our per capita income, and to spread education and schooling more easily.

#### **\* Germany Reportedly Disengaging From Africa**

34000602A London AFRICA ANALYSIS in English  
30 Mar 90 p 3

[Text] Bonn. With world attention focused on German reunification, Germans themselves are completely absorbed by this historic process, very much to the detriment of their relations with Africa.

In fact, at least West Germany has never had an 'Africa policy' as such. For one thing, the German Reich had been a latecomer to colonial politics and when, following the division of Germany after the second world war, the Federal Republic of Germany emerged, it initially tried to outshine the German Democratic Republic (GDR) in newly independent African states in order to prevent recognition of its rival. When these efforts turned out to be futile, Bonn had already grown into one of the major donors of development aid.

Economically a giant, it was, however, politically still a dwarf. Defeated in two world wars and with the stigma of its Nazi past, West Germany preferred to play a low-key role in world politics. This attitude was accentuated by foreign minister Hans-Dietrich Genscher's complete lack of interest in African affairs. A liberal and longest serving foreign minister in the world, eager to go into history as an architect of east-west detente, Genscher is known for never receiving any African ambassador. A constant traveler elsewhere, he carefully tries to avoid Africa, as he considers it politically less rewarding.

African governments resented this and preferred a closer association with partners politically more engaged. Thus, left without political backing, West German industry, despite its international strength, has never been able to gain considerable ground in Africa, except in Nigeria, where it became the second largest trading partner during the boom period.

German reunification, coupled with the opening up of east European markets and the European Community's single market coming up in 1992, is dealing a fatal blow to this uneasy relationship. Already, the development aid budget is not keeping pace with West Germany's impressive economic growth rate.

And the economic co-operation minister, Jürgen Warnke, admittedly with additional funds, is now responsible for relations with Poland and Hungary, where German development experts have begun to step in. This task is more attractive to him as his Bundestag constituency is on the GDR border.

Whereas the general feeling is that east European countries will soon pick up economically, Africa is considered a hopeless case, left to humanitarian organisations. But even these aid organisations now have to compete with fun-raising for Romania.

Under these conditions, the Hamburg-based 'Afrika-Verein,' an organisation of German business traditionally engaged in Africa, is losing members. Early this year, its president, Lieselotte von Rantzau-Esberger, owner of 'Deutsche Afrika-Linien'—the shipping company which was closely associated with the beginning of German colonisation in Africa—sold her business in west and east Africa, thus ending an association of more than 100 years with the region.

Speculation on the GDR's new government's attitude towards Africa is idle. As things now stand, the GDR will be merged into a unified Germany, before it has time to concern itself with African affairs.

**\* More Nations Dealing Openly With South Africa**

34000580 Johannesburg *SUNDAY STAR* in English  
25 Mar 90 p 14

[Article by Gerald L'Ange]

[Text] Possibly the most underplayed news story of the week was the meeting in Cape Town on Thursday between President de Klerk and Somalia's Prime Minister and Foreign Minister.

Anyone outside informed circles who had been told that the State President had met Mohamed Ali Samanter might well have asked: "Mohamed who?"

Mr Samanter's name is by no means a household one in South Africa. Yet the meeting with the Somali Prime Minister was potentially one of the most important Mr de Klerk has had since he assumed office.

Its repercussions might be felt long after he leaves it.

The Somali meeting did not get the attention it deserved simply because it took place on the same day that Mr de Klerk had talks with American Secretary of State James Baker.

Even less attention was given to Mr de Klerk's meeting on the same day with the Prime Minister of Mauritius, Sir Anerood Jugnauth.

This is understandable, since South Africa's close commercial and tourist ties with Mauritius are taken for granted.

But a meeting between Mr de Klerk and representatives of the Somali government is another matter.

Somalia has up to now scrupulously avoided any public contact with South Africa, in line with the Organization of African Unity's strictures.

This week's meeting, coming as it did after the meetings Mr de Klerk had in Windhoek with the presidents of Egypt and Nigeria, was further evidence of the astonishing advances the South African Government has made towards acceptance in black Africa.

What was important about these meetings was not only that they took place but that they took place openly, unlike some past secret exchanges between the South African and African heads of State.

There is a growing willingness by African leaders to be seen to be dealing with South Africa.

If the Government is right in saying the road to South Africa's reacceptance in the world is through Africa, then this week's meetings could have opened the way.

For the president of Nigeria, which has long seemed South Africa's most implacable African critic, to sit down with Mr de Klerk at a dinner table, as President

Babangida did in Windhoek on Tuesday, is astonishing in the light of the situation that prevailed a few months ago.

But that situation has changed, and further evidence of this came from the fact that President Babangida not only attended Mr de Klerk's banquet but had a brief, informal meeting with him as well.

President Hosni Mubarak of Egypt, who was also at the dinner, went somewhat further than the Nigerian and had a formal, half hour discussion with Mr de Klerk.

This was especially significant, as the Egyptian is the current chairman of the Organization of African Unity.

South Africa has apparently been wooing Egypt for some time, seeing it as the thin end of a wedge to break the OAU [Organization of African Unity]'s policy of ostracizing this country.

Useful contacts were made when Cairo was used as the venue for one round of the Angola-Namibia negotiations in 1988.

Another important advance came with the Egyptians' agreement last year to allow South African aircraft to land at Cairo to take Muslim pilgrims to Mecca.

Apart from Mr Mubarak's OAU chairmanship, Egypt is one of the most powerful and influential members of the organization.

While the OAU is often dismissed as a "talk shop" its members have traditionally maintained at least a semblance of unity. This has applied especially to opposing apartheid and to ostracizing South Africa.

However, once Nigeria and Egypt, the two most powerful members, openly have contacts with South Africa, the way will presumably be open for any other African country to do the same.

And it will be difficult for any group within the OAU to place limits on the extent of these contacts.

This week's meetings may not yet represent the African breakthrough, the "snowball effect" for which South African diplomats have been hoping.

But if the African snowball is to start rolling—if the breakthrough is to be made—it will be through countries such as Nigeria and Egypt.

The little nations such as Rwanda and Burundi, with whom President de Klerk was to have met in Zaire last month, were hardly worth the effort, so lacking are they in influence.

Meeting them would only have emphasized how hard up South Africa was for friends in Africa.

It was perhaps fortunate for Pretoria that the joint summit in Zaire was called off.

But Mr de Klerk's meetings with General Babangida and Mr Mubarak in Windhoek this week represented the big time at last, even though the encounters took place in unusual circumstances.

South African sources say the Cape Town meetings with the Somali and Mauritian premiers were hold-overs from Windhoek, when Mr de Klerk did not have enough time to meet all the representatives of other governments who wanted to talk to him.

For Somalia to have persisted to the point of its Premier following Mr de Klerk to Cape Town says much for the importance the Mogadishu government places on opening contacts with South Africa.

A significant aspect of all this week's meetings was that they took place in defiance of wishes—expressed by the ANC and Pan Africanist Congress—for the continuation of a total embargo on contacts with South Africa.

There is an implication that if South Africa continues to show good faith, African governments will not necessarily side exclusively with African nationalism in whatever negotiations may follow for a new dispensation.

The new African willingness to deal openly is Pretoria's reward for giving up Namibia; for easing, if not discontinuing, the destabilization of neighboring states; for starting to abolish apartheid and for releasing Nelson Mandela.

To some extent it may be in appreciation of the sincerity and civility with which President de Klerk is seen to be going about negotiating a new dispensation.

Why else, it might be asked, did PLO leader Yasser Arafat shake Mr de Klerk's hand in front of 15,000 people and representatives of most of the world's governments?

The dominant spirit in Windhoek was not one of recrimination for South Africa's having delayed Namibian independence for so long but of applause for having allowed it at last. Mr de Klerk was more of a hero than a villain.

The independence ceremonies there have maintained, perhaps even strengthened, the initiative he seized with his relatively bold steps towards reform.

Where his initiative goes from here in black Africa will obviously depend on his future moves.

But this week, as Namibia prepares to become the newest member of both the United Nations and the Organization of African Unity, Mr de Klerk is clearly on a roll in Africa.

## Chad

### New Clashes With 'Islamic Legion' Reported

AU0305170690 Paris AFP in English 1630 GMT  
3 May 90

[Text] Paris, May 3 (AFP)—Chadian government troops killed 32 "Islamic Legion mercenaries" and captured 57 in "mopping-up operations" Wednesday close to the eastern border with Sudan, the Chadian Embassy here reported Thursday. An embassy statement said the government troops had also seized a heavy duty lorry (truck), two Toyota-type landcruisers and a batch of handguns, and destroyed three other Toyota-type vehicles.

Chad has accused Libya of indirectly launching attacks into its territory by way of Islamic Legion forces based in Sudan, but Chadian rebels led by former chief-of-staff Idriss Deby [spelling as received] have said they are responsible for the hit-and-run strikes. Mr. Deby fled to Sudan after an abortive coup bid against Chadian President Hissein Habre on April 1 last year.

France early last month temporarily stepped up its military presence in Chad when there were fierce clashes close to the frontier with Sudan's Darfur province.

### Communique Issued on Fighting

AB0305195390 Ndjamena Domestic Service in French  
1904 GMT 3 May 90

[Communique No. 8 of the Chadian National Armed Forces, FANT, High Command; issued in Ndjamena on 3 May]

[Text] On Wednesday, 2 May 1990, the FANT, still working on their mopping-up operations along the Chad-Sudan border, intercepted and routed a convoy of Islamic Legion mercenaries. The outcome of this operation is as follows:

On the side of the mercenaries of the Islamic Legion: 32 dead and 57 prisoners of war.

Enemy equipment captured: two Toyota vehicles, one heavy-duty transport truck, and a batch of individual weapons.

Enemy equipment destroyed: three Toyota vehicles.

By administering this new lesson to the horde of mercenaries in the pay of Libya, the valiant FANT fighters have once again shown proof of their unyielding determination not to give the invaders any breathing space.

## Zaire

### Mobutu Clarifies 'Misunderstandings' in Message

AB0305162690 Dakar PANA in French 1422 GMT  
3 May 90

[Text] Kinshasa, 3 May (AZAP/PANA)—President Mobutu, speaking to the Zairian National Assembly today, made some clarifications following, as he said, "ambiguities and misunderstandings that have developed since my 24 April message and which risk giving a bad start to the new drive for democracy."

The Zairian head of state's clarifications concerned the transition period and the important reforms announced on 24 April. This transition comprises two phases, President Mobutu announced. The first phase, he explained, is from 24 April 1990 to 30 April 1991, covering 12 months. The second phase begins 1 May 1991.

The first phase comprises four stages: amendment of some terms of the constitution necessitated by the reforms; the adoption of a law on the organization, functioning, and financing of political parties; the deposition of documents of these political formations; and legalization by the appropriate body designated by law.

The political formations must wait for their legalization before proclaiming themselves as political parties and before establishing themselves as such, the Zairian president stressed.

Marshal Mobutu clearly explained that in view of the preceding, as of this day, there is no political party in Zaire, as the law that must govern them is still in a state of elaboration. Consequently, he warned that "the authorities will not accept the organization of marches, demonstrations, or meetings by any groupings which have already begun to consider themselves political parties and which risk disturbing public order for nothing."

The Zairian president also made it a point to specify that the established authorities, however, understand that as of now, future political leaders will be organizing informal private consultations to enable them to lay the bases of their future political parties.

The fourth stage of the first phase after the legalization of the political parties will be the establishment of a commission to draw up the new constitution which will govern the Third Republic. This commission will be made up not only of experts, but also representatives of various political tendencies. The new constitution will be submitted to the people for approval through a referendum.

The second phase of the transition period begins on 1 May 1991 with general elections. Presidential elections will be held before the end of Marshal Mobutu's term; that is, before 4 December 1991. From 1992, legislative



and grassroots elections will be held for community and regional councils and assemblies.

In his address before the Zairian Parliament, President Mobutu also gave more details on the transitional government, whose objective is to achieve the country's social and economic recovery. The transitional government, which will be made known tomorrow, will see to the implementation of the program concerning the reorganization of public finances, the fight against inflation, and stabilization of the national currency.

Marshal Mobutu concluded his speech before the people's representatives by evoking the situation of the security services which the people, through many memorandums, wanted to be thoroughly reformed. In order to meet this concern, the president of the Republic expressed his determination to give a humane touch to these services. In this regard, he said that he has just appointed two prominent lawyers to head the National Security Council and National Documentation Agency. He said that legislation concerning these departments will be reviewed so that people's freedom can be fully guaranteed.

Finally, Marshal Mobutu told members of Parliament about his determination to lead the transition period in calm, serenity, and respect of order and legality. Thus, he expressed the wish that everyone in these times of crisis calmly go about business as usual.

#### **Mobutu Denounces 'Atmosphere of Division'**

*EA0305200290 Mbuji-Mayi Zaire Domestic Service in French 1630 GMT 3 May 90*

[Excerpt] [passage omitted] The president of the Republic denounced what he called an atmosphere of division which prevails in the country following the incorrect interpretation of his speech of 24 April. Marshal Mobutu Sese Seko (?took the opportunity) to make the necessary clarifications on how (?things should be handled) during the transitional period which precedes the advent of the team of the Third Republic.

The transition period, he made clear, will be divided into two major phases. The first phase will extend from 24 April 1990 to 30 April 1991, during which there will be some modifications of various provisions of the current constitution: in particular, a law will be passed on the creation, organization, operation, and financing of political parties, and the establishment of a commission of experts charged with drafting a new constitution. An important clarification relates to the creation of the three political parties after the latter have been accepted in accordance with the law which will be adopted by the Legislative Council.

The second phase of the transition period will extend from 1 May 1991 until the new institutions to be derived from future elections are formed. The head of state announced that presidential elections will be held prior to the end of the current seven-year term of office,

meaning before 4 December 1991 [as heard]. The (?other) general elections for the renewal of the Legislative Council, regional assemblies, town councils, zonal councils, and collectivity councils will take place after the presidential elections, meaning in 1992.

Talking about the transitional government, Marshal Mobutu Sese Seko said that it will have, among others, the following objectives: the reorganization of finances, the fight against inflation, and lastly the stabilization of the currency.

The new government team will in fact be known as of 4 May. Meanwhile, the president of the Republic expressed his wish to see citizens carry out their daily duties in peace so as to enter a mature pluralist democracy. [passage omitted]

#### **UDPS Leader on Transitional Government Role**

*AB0305074690 Paris AFP in English 0008 GMT 3 May 90*

[Text] Paris, May 2 (AFP)—The exiled leader of Zaire's main opposition movement, Marcel Lihau, ruled out Wednesday any possible role in a transition government currently being formed under plans to introduce a multi-party system.

Mr. Lihau, president of the Union for Democracy and Social Progress (UDPS), told a press conference here that the UDPS would not consider a government role after the killing of two people at an opposition demonstration in Kinshasa.

"We're calling on all opposition forces to do the same," he said.

The UDPS won tacit recognition last week from Zairean President Mobutu Sese Seko when the head of state announced the introduction of multi-party politics with three parties allowed.

Mr. Lihau said many witnesses confirmed that at least two people had been killed on Monday at an opposition meeting in the Zairean capital, a report denied on Tuesday by the governor of Kinshasa.

Earlier Wednesday, Zaire expelled the AGENCE FRANCE-PRESSE correspondent in Kinshasa, Jean-Claude Fiol, and protested to the French authorities over the reports of the deaths.

Mr. Lihau cited a NEW YORK TIMES report that government forces had killed at least two people, adding that "sources in the U.S. Congress contacted by our representatives said they had received the same information from the State Department."

"All the confirmations say the same thing," he said.

Mr. Lihau added that he hoped the leadership in the West African country would provide "certain guarantees for the people" before opening "round-table talks." He wanted the dissolution of a "special presidential division

including African mercenaries" and stated that there were Chadians and troops from the Central African Republic among these.

Mr. Lihau also charged that about 100 "white mercenaries" had left Nice, the southern French town where Marshal Mobutu has a villa, on Easter Saturday after the announcement of an opposition demonstration in Kinshasa. He did not give any details of their nationalities.

The UDPS president also called on Belgium, the former colonial power in Zaire, France and above all the United States—"which has run Zaire since (independence in) 1960"—and on African nations to name people to monitor a national conference called for Tuesday by nine opposition movements, including his own, in a statement from Brussels.

### **MPR Selects New Chairman After Mobutu Speech**

*AB0305172590 Dakar PANA in French 1634 GMT  
3 May 90*

[Text] Kinshasa, 3 May (AZAP/PANA)—Mr. N'singa Udjuu Ongwakebi Untube, former chairman of the Zairian Judicial Council (minister of justice) and until recently the permanent secretary of the Political Bureau of the Popular Movement of the Revolution (MPR), has been designated by his fellow members of the MPR Central Committee as the chairman of that political formation.

The designation of Mr. N'singa occurred after Marshal Mobutu Sese Seko sent a letter to the permanent secretary of the MPR in which the former head of the party notified him officially of his resignation as head of the MPR, in line with the spirit of his 24 April message to the nation. [Words indistinct] (?the session) which was thus immediately convened.

It is indicated that Mr. N'singa will lead a provisional directorate which will be charged with restructuring the MPR, drafting its statutes, and establishing its definitive organizational setup. It has also been learned that some personalities who belong to the former Central Committee and who had held talks concerning the creation of a so-called Christian Social Democrat political body which would be led by Mr. Ileo Songo Amba, have just rejoined the MPR for reasons that have not yet been revealed. Those involved, notably, are: Mrs. Nzuzi Wa Mbombo; and Messrs. Bomboko Lokumba, Nendaka Bika, Luntadila Ndala Za-Fwa, Mboso M'kodia Pwanga, Mpanu-Mpanu Bibanda; and Counsellors Mbungu Bayanama and Ndudi-Ndudi Yi Buloko.

### **Political Refugees in Belgium on Mobutu Decision**

*AB2504133490 Paris AFP in English 1311 GMT  
25 Apr 90*

[Text] Brussels, April 25 (AFP)—Zairian political refugees in Belgium reacted sceptically Wednesday to President Mobutu Sese Seko's decision to restore multi-party politics after 20 years of one-party rule.

"We fear a trap," said Omer Nkamba, external relations secretary for the Union For Democracy and Social Progress (UDPS), an opposition party which is expected to be one of the three movements allowed to operate under Marshal Mobutu's new dispensation.

It has emerged over the past few years from clandestinity with some show of local support in Kinshasa, and on Tuesday President Mobutu said UDPS leader Etienne Tshisikedi was free after months of house arrest.

But Mr. Nkamba cautioned that previous reform moves in Zaire had "collapsed to the detriment of those who agreed to launch such attractive types of proposition".

A group of parties loyal to the memory of Zaire's first premier, Patrice Lumumba, said Marshal Mobutu's decisions were "authoritarian and selective", and the choice of which parties could organise would be "an abuse of power".

Official Belgian Government comment was initially conspicuous by its absence, a point made by the paper LE SOIR, which listed all the ministries from prime minister's office downwards which declined to make formal statements. The paper said political and economic circles were "puzzled and embarrassed" by the developments in Belgium's former colony.

But the Foreign Ministry later put out a statement hailing President Mobutu's reforms as a "significant step on the path to democratisation and pluralism."

It said Belgium was convinced the measures would meet the aspirations of the Zairian people.

### **Congolese Liberation Movement Wants Conference**

*AB0305193290 Paris AFP in French 1915 GMT  
1 May 90*

[Text] Dar es Salaam, 1 May (AFP)—The Congolese Liberation Movement (PLC), a Zairian opposition faction, has called for a conference to be attended by all political opposition factions in France and Belgium in order to define a common stand in view of the recent proposals made by President Mobutu Sese Seko. Today in Brussels, nine other Zairian opposition movements called for a pluralist "national conference" to organize free elections as soon as possible.

Antoine Kibingu Marandura, leader of the PLC, today declared in Dar es Salaam that he is in favor of the openness policy proposed by the Zairian leadership, while



criticizing the fact that this policy allows for only three parties including the Popular Movement of the Revolution (MPR, ruling party). He expressed the wish for his party to be part of a transition government.

The PLC, he added, is willing to cease all military action in the eastern part of Zaire as a goodwill gesture. Mr. Marandura assured that he has a great number of partisans in Kisangani (Haut-Zaire) and the Kivu Province, with minor groups in Shaba and Kinshasa.

#### **Former Interior Minister Registers Party**

AB2904110590 Dakar PANA in French 1006 GMT  
29 Apr 90

[Text] Kinshasa, 29 April (PANA)—Mr. Christophe Gbenye, the former interior minister of Zaire's first prime minister, Patrice Lumumba, has declared in Kinshasa that it was only the political party he provisionally heads which is the legal heir of the Congolese National Movement of Patrice Emery Lumumba (MNC/L).

Addressing a news conference in the Zairean capital, Mr. Gbenye announced the filing of a request for registration of the MNC and denounced the limiting of authorized political parties to three as announced by the Zairean president, Mobutu Sese Seko on 24 April 1990. He also rejected the idea of participating in a transitional government, adding that the MNC/L was in contact with another political party, the Union for Democracy and Social Progress (UDPS) of Mr. Etienne Tshisekedi and might lead to joint actions against the present government.

"We cannot have, apart from the MNC/L, another party claiming to be the heir of Lumumba", said Gbenye, who claimed he personally received from Lumumba the right to succeed him politically.

He denounced the utilisation "for diverse ends" of the name of Zairean hero, saying "everybody is using the name of Lumumba. It is political blackmail which we cannot tolerate."

Denying a claim by Mr. Francois Lumumba, the son of the late Zairean premier that "Lumumbism" was hereditary, Gbenye said: "The MNC is not hereditary" and

that was why he had on several occasions rejected proposals by a group known as "Lumumbist intellectuals", headed by Professor Kitete Kekumba Omonbo, to dissolve the provisional committee he heads.

Gbenye told the news conference that the proliferation of Lumumbist groups was a result of the physical harassment and manipulations of MNC members "who were chased and killed."

Giving the position of his political grouping on the reforms announced by President Mobutu Sese Seko, Gbenye rejected the participation of his party in the provisional government of the country's recently elected prime minister, Mr. Lunda Hululu, saying he was not contacted.

He also urged Mobutu to work for the convocation of the constituent assembly so as to find a rapid and total solution to the evils committed by the Peoples Movement for the Revolution (MPR), the hitherto sole ruling party in Zaire.

The holding of a constituent assembly, he proposed, should be preceded by a "national political representative conference."

On the contact between his movement and the UDPS, Gbenye asserted that the two parties have converging points which might lead to unity in action. "We have the same objectives, the same sufferings, the same dictatorship, as well as the same enemy, and we aspire for the same democracy", he added.

On his party's program, he said his party will not be motivated by revenge for Lumumba, adding that his organization was a nationalist party whose goal was the improvement of social conditions. He said the MNC/L was opposed to nationalisation.

Apart from serving in Lumumba's government, Gbenye was also deputy premier and minister of the interior in the Adoula government of 1962 before joining the opposition in 1963, taking up arms in what is now upper Zaire in the name of "Lumumbism." He declared himself president of Congo in 1964 with his headquarters in Kisangani.

## Ethiopia

### Rebels Report Battle Victory in Eritrea

EA0205125590 (Clandestine) Voice of the Broad Masses of Eritrea in Amharic 1630 GMT 1 Apr 90

[Text] Combatants of the people's army of the Eritrean People's Liberation Front [EPLF] have attacked entrenched Dergue troops in two directions in Seraye Province. In the engagement, which took place the day before yesterday in (Kisad Ika) and Gwal Ayla Gundet, our combatants dispersed the enemy within 20 minutes. The enemy lost 14 soldiers killed, 17 others wound, and three other soldiers captured. The enemy lost a total of 34 soldiers. In addition, our combatants captured one RPG gun and eight Kalashnikov rifles.

### Rebels Claim 500 Troops Killed, Weapons Captured

EA0205200490 (Clandestine) Voice of the Ethiopian People for Peace, Democracy, and Freedom in Amharic 0400 GMT 2 May 90

[Text] The enemy force which moved into Merhabete area to commit atrocities against the people has been beaten back during fighting near (Hider) and dispersed before it achieved its antipeople aim, and sent back to where it came from. The force was the 102d Army Division.

The 102d Army Division was defeated twice by the heroic Ethiopian People's Revolutionary Democratic Front [EPRDF] army at Kobo and Debre Tabor, and it has now been established for the third time with newly conscripted airborne soldiers, who have not completed their regular training.

The heroic popular EPRDF army defended itself against the new 102d Army Division for two days near (Hider), and then dispersed it in an offensive it undertook on 29 April from 1500 to 1800.

In the short and brilliant battle, our heroic army killed 507, wounded 574, and captured 426 enemy soldiers. In addition, the EPRDF has confiscated 496 Kalashnikov rifles, 23 RPG's, 10 (Gronov's), seven radio communication sets, one (NRS) vehicle, and numerous rounds of ammunition and shells.

## Tanzania

### Mwinyi Returns From Nordic Countries Tour

EA2904123590 Dar es Salaam Domestic Service in Swahili 0330 GMT 29 Apr 90

[From the "Current Affairs" program]

[Excerpt] Mwinyi Back Home—This is an item of news highlighted on the front page of the SUNDAY NEWS. President Mwinyi returned home last night after a successful visit to the Nordic countries. At the Dar es

Salaam International Airport he was welcomed by party and government leaders. [passage omitted]

### President Says Multiparty System Possible

EA2904021090 Nairobi KNA in English 0910 GMT 29 Apr 90

[Text] Nairobi, 29 April (KNA)—Tanzania's president, Mr. Ali Hassan Mwinyi, said yesterday in Nairobi that the question of a single or multi-party state for Tanzania had not been finalised. In reference to recent press reports that Tanzania had decided to have only one party, he said that the reports were misleading because for that country, both the systems were possible, but none had been preferred to the other.

Mr. Mwinyi said this at the Jomo Kenyatta International Airport, where he stopped for an hour on his way home from a two weeks tour of the Nordic countries.

He said that if Tanzania had to have either of the systems, then it would be the choice of the people. He said discussions were still underway to select what was good and then have the people educated on both the systems before asking them to pick one. Mr. Mwinyi said, taking to a multi-party system should not be preferred just for the sake of it, but rather, it must be seen to be the best for the country.

Mr. Mwinyi visited Finland, Norway, and Denmark, where he discussed issues of co-operation and how those countries could help Tanzania in the fields of education, health and water supplies.

He was accompanied on the trip by his wife, Mrs. Sitti Mwinyi, his foreign minister, Mr. Benjamin Mkapa, the minister of state in the office of the chief minister, Zanzibar, Mr. Ali Mohamed Shola, and the principal secretary in the Ministry of Finance, Dr. K. Kipokola.

### President Mwinyi Delivers May Day Address

EA0205123490 Dar es Salaam Domestic Service in Swahili 0840 GMT 1 May 90

[Address by President Ali Hassan Mwinyi on the occasion of Labor Day at the national stadium in Dar es Salaam on 1 May—live]

[Excerpts] Comrade chairman of Juwata [Union of Tanzania Workers], fellow party and government leaders, fellow workers and fellow citizens: Today, we once again join hands with our fellow workers all over the world to celebrate international Labor Day. Therefore, I wish to thank you deeply for inviting me to join you in these celebrations. [passage omitted]

The liberation struggle against colonialism in Africa reached its climax on 21 March this year, when Namibia attained its independence. We rejoice that our brothers in Namibia are also celebrating this Labor Day as a free

nation. We commend them. We salute them on their victory under their president. Comrade Sam Nujoma. [applause]

Namibia's victory increases the hopes of the South African nationalists, who are currently fighting the illegal apartheid policy that is pursued by the minority Boers. The struggle is, at present, gaining momentum. Following increased pressure, the unjust South African regime has been compelled, not of its own free will, but has been forced to release from prison the nationalist leader, our brother and beloved friend Nelson Mandela. It has also been forced to lift the ban on the antiapartheid movements in South Africa, including the African National Congress [ANC].

We are happy that Comrade Mandela was able to pay a visit to us in Tanzania immediately after his release from prison. I wish to take this opportunity to commend you citizens, and to thank you sincerely for the warm and brotherly reception accorded to our brother Mandela when he visited Tanzania. [applause] That reception has reassured Comrade Mandela that Tanzania will continue to support our brothers in South Africa until final victory is achieved. It is our earnest hope that the international community will continue to exert pressure on the Boer regime until apartheid is completely dismantled.

Changes have taken place in East Europe's political and economic systems. Since these countries were socialist states, numerous questions have been asked about whether such changes will affect our political and economic structure in Tanzania. Our citizens have had the opportunity in the past, and they continue, to air their views on these changes at workshops and seminars that are being held and which will continue. I wish to avail myself of this opportunity merely to reaffirm that our country does not make its decisions by emulating what is happening in other countries. On this basis, our policy of socialism and self-reliance was not at the outset an emulation of Marxism or Leninism. Our country's policy has emerged from the people's own aspirations, and takes into consideration the full realities of the country's situation.

We realize that the greatest lesson for any nation, including Tanzania, is its history and the wealth of its experience from that history. Our journey, from colonialism to independence, has taught us much, both on mainland Tanzania and on the islands. Therefore, the citizens' wishes regarding the political set-up and economic structure in their country will not fail to take full account of our history.

The citizens are free to express their opinions and adopt the political and economic system that protects and promotes their welfare on the basis of democracy. That is why in Tanzania we have been able to maintain national

unity and consolidate our solidarity. I am pleased to say that Juwata has made a major contribution in promoting this unity and solidarity. [passage omitted]

The nation has also declared total war against the enemy corruption. Corruption has now become a chronic disease, which has spread to all areas which provide important services to the citizens. Citizens have been forced to buy their rights. They cannot get their rights unless they give bribes. This is a dangerous situation which reduces the faith of the citizens in their government, and it retards our efforts to revive our economy. Our nation is now at war against this menace.

Personally, I have started taking stern measures against those who have been proved to be involved in acts of corruption. I will continue to take such measures whenever it is necessary, but I insist that this war is not one man's war, neither is it our war. It concerns all of us, and to make this war against corruption succeed, it is vital that everyone should be in the vanguard of that struggle. We should cooperate with government machinery to identify all those involved in evil acts. The government will protect those who give us information about people who are said to be giving or receiving bribes. The cooperation of every citizen is important in the eradication of this menace.

The government believes that one of the things that contributes to the decline in efficiency in the workplace and to increasing corruption is the low income of the workers. We understand that. Their income does not allow them to have all their essential needs. However, I have no doubt that citizens would agree with me that corruption should not be allowed to continue.

The difficult economic situation should not be taken as a license to propagate the evils of corruption. Your government clearly understands the problem of low wages, and that is why it has been giving frequent salary increases, in order to lessen workers' problems in life, even on a small scale.

For example, in 1987 the lowest minimum wage scale in the government increased from 810 shillings to 1,260 shillings per month. Last year that scale was again increased to 2,072 shillings per month, and this year we are increasing it [applause] when the new financial year comes, that is, in July. The government is also considering the possibility of lowering taxes [applause] so that a worker can return home with a fat pay package. [applause] The government is also considering increasing fringe benefits for workers.

However, I would like to take this opportunity to stress two important things. First, we must all understand that no salary increase will enable us to meet all our requirements. We all know that salary increases in most cases have to help meet increases in our commodity prices. [passage omitted]

### Further Reportage on ANC-Government Talks

#### Municipalities Welcome Talks

MB0305134590 Johannesburg SOWETAN in English  
3 May 90 p 8

[By Sy Makaringe]

[Text] The United Municipalities of South Africa [UMSA] have welcomed the "talks about talks" between the Government and the African National Congress presently taking place in Cape Town.

Responding to criticism of the talks by the Urban Councils Association of South Africa, [UCASA], UMSA president Mr Tom Boya said all right-thinking people would engage in such talks to end oppression and domination.

Mr Phillip Nhlapo, president of UCASA, has said at the annual general meeting of the his organisation's Transvaal branch in Kempton Park at the weekend that the ANC [African National Congress] was meeting the Government because it had problems.

"Councillors have no problem because they have achieved a lot for the people in the past," Nhlapo told the meeting.

In a statement Boya called on all councillors to condemn and dissociate themselves with "these utterances".

"Much as we have participated in the Pretoria regime structures and used them as a vehicle to condemn the injustices of the Government, we feel we have not really achieved a lot for our people. That's why we welcome the negotiations which are going on between the Government and the ANC.

"Whilst UCASA sees talks between the Government and the ANC as the ANC's problem, we have seen it fit to talk to the Government," he said.

#### PAC Attacks ANC Over Talks

MB0305113190 Umtata Capital Radio in English  
1000 GMT 3 May 90

[Text] The Pan-Africanist Congress [PAC] has renewed its attack on the ANC for talking to government. The second round of a three-day summit is scheduled to start at 1430 today.

Western Cape representative of the PAC, Barney Desai, has warned that the meeting could lead to what he called unacceptable compromises. Desai said President De Klerk was not coming clean.

The PAC, he said, would not go within spitting distance of the negotiating table while De Klerk was there.

### Tutu Discusses Talks

MB0305190590 Johannesburg International Service  
in English 1100 GMT 3 May 90

[From the "Africa South" program]

[Text] South African Anglican Archbishop Desmond Tutu, who is in London at the moment, has commented on the talks between the ANC and the government.

[Begin Tutu recording] I suppose it is almost happening, using the word historic, but when you think of some of the things that happened only last September, when people were being killed, and people could not even work on beaches freely, and the government was using the ANC to frighten people into voting for them, it is actually almost mind boggling to think that they are now sitting across the table with the people they tried to demonize.

We know we ought not to be euphoric [words indistinct] very difficult not to say that we are, it seems, on the crossroad of great possibilities. The happenings in Namibia—maybe a parallel situation existed before the negotiations, and that situation which one would almost call miraculous—give hope that once people sit down together, then it seems they begin to discover that they are [word indistinct] and that their aspirations and their fears are almost identical. They long for the same things and [word indistinct] fear the same things. [end recording]

### De Klerk, Mandela on Health Services

MB0305133990 Johannesburg SAPA in English  
1334 GMT 3 May 90

[Text] Cape Town May 3 SAPA—State President Mr F.W. de Klerk and ANC Deputy President Mr Nelson Mandela had discussed the situation at the strike-hit Baragwanath Hospital, and arrangements were being made for high-level talks on problems in health services, the State President's Office said on Thursday.

It said in a statement that the two men had agreed that the situation at the hospital was detrimental to the interests of the public and that it was imperative that medical services be restored to normal as soon as possible.

"It was furthermore arranged that Mr Mandela would interest himself to improve the situation at the hospital."

Arrangements were also being made for high-level talks on problems in health services, health policy and policy on labour organisations and unions.

The relevant ministers and employee organisations would participate in these talks.



**NP Applauds De Klerk on Negotiations**

*MB0305170790 Johannesburg Television Service  
in Afrikaans 1545 GMT 3 May 90*

[Text] The National Party caucus says it notes with enthusiasm and gratitude the progress made this week on the constructive talks for peaceful negotiations on creating a new South Africa.

The caucus's views are expressed in an extraordinary statement issued this morning by the party's chief whip, Keppies Nieman, saying that it wants to express unanimously its gratitude to the state president and his team for the positive initiatives taken and the progress already made.

The caucus says it is under the strong impression of the seriousness and importance of the process, which is in the interest of the country and its people.

**Communique Notes 'Penetrating' Talks**

*MB0305172990 Johannesburg SAPA in English  
1728 GMT 3 May 90*

[Text] Cape Town, May 3, SAPA—Thursday's session of talks at Groote Schuur ended after the scheduled 3-1/2 hours during which the ANC and government delegations attempted to identify their differences more clearly.

A joint communique said the meeting lasted from 2:30pm to 6pm.

Wednesday's talks had concentrated on a general discussion of the issues which each party regarded as obstacles to the commencement of constitutional negotiations.

"Today's meeting was devoted to a wider ranging discussion and penetrating analysis of these specific issues in an attempt to identify the differences more clearly in the hope that proposals could emerge on how to bridge these differences.

"At the end of the meeting, which will continue tomorrow (Friday) to work towards bridging these differences, both leaders expressed satisfaction with the progress achieved thus far."

**Groote Schuur Security 'Strict'**

*MB0305184390 Johannesburg Television Service  
in English 1800 GMT 3 May 90*

[Excerpts] The second session of the historic talks between the South African Government and the African National Congress [ANC] ended about two hours ago with a joint statement expressing satisfaction with progress so far.

Today's talks, which started at half past 2:00, covered broad areas and highlighted specific issues.

Our political correspondent, Clarence Keyter, reports that the exploratory meeting is continuing to attract worldwide media attention.

[Begin Keyter recording] Television crews waited patiently outside Groote Schuur this afternoon in an attempt to get a glimpse of the two delegations arriving at the estate for the second day's, talks which started at 1430.

The waiting, however, was in vain, because, in keeping with the strict security arrangements for the talks, the ANC delegation arriving from Somerset West was driven into the estate through an alternative gate, the only one not covered by TV crews.

There was one occasion though when the media thought their patience was being rewarded when a motorcade was spotted traveling in the direction of the gate at which they were waiting, but the expectations petered out when the motorcade appeared to be the remainder of the one which had just escorted the ANC team to the other gate.

The government delegation had arrived individually some time before the ANC team. [passage omitted]

The third session of the talks are scheduled to start at 11:00 tomorrow morning. [end recording]

**'Significant Progress' Possible**

*MB0405052190 Johannesburg SAPA in English  
0509 GMT 4 May 90*

[Text] Cape Town May 4 SAPA—The government and the ANC enter their third and final day of talks at Groote Schuur estate on Friday with strong indications significant progress may be announced later.

Although further rounds of talks are envisaged at this stage, sources close to the negotiators believe some definite proposals may emerge when State President F.W. de Klerk and ANC Deputy President Mr Nelson Mandela address the media later on Friday. The talks are due to end at around 6.30PM followed by either joint or separate press conferences.

Any commitments extracted by way of compromise from the ANC may be subject to confirmation by its National Executive Committee [NEC] and as such may be kept confidential until the NEC has met. ANC sources have indicated such a meeting could be called in Lusaka at short notice if necessary.

The government's main concern, the ANC's public insistence on the Continuation of the armed struggle, is one such issue which Mr Mandela's negotiators are not empowered to alter without NEC consent.

It is possible a compromise proposal could be formulated around confidential undertakings by the ANC that it would not permit any acts of aggression and reduce its public rhetoric on the subject.

Two issues are expected to prove difficult for government to resolve satisfactorily—the demand for the lifting of the state of emergency and removal of security legislation under which the ANC and other organisations or persons could once again be restricted.

The issue most likely to have come close to final settlement is the terms of the return of ANC exiles. Legislation for temporary and permanent indemnity against prosecution is already on the table of Parliament.

The ANC is known to be anxious to start moving onto home ground where considerable organisation as a legal political party is required as a matter of urgency.

Observers feel there may be some progress on how to approach the differences regarding the definition of political prisoners and that there could be an interim compromise possibly involving a formal government study aimed at the release of some categories of prisoners.

It may also have tabled names of convicted prisoners being held in Harare which it wants released. The government has indicated in the past it viewed the pardoning of prisoners which may have committed crimes of violence as an element more suited to the final constitutional negotiations.

Agreement is expected to be reached on some joint strategy to meet the general violence situation in the country. Part of such an agreement may also contain some compromises by the government regarding the ANC's difficulties with what they term police violence.

Whatever the outcome of the historic talks, it is generally expected that by their conclusion considerable progress towards setting up national constitutional negotiations would have been made.

#### **'Exceptional' Rapport Noted**

MB0405074190 Johannesburg SAPA in English  
0732 GMT 4 May 90

[By Pierre Claasen]

[Text] Cape Town May 4 SAPA—The personalities and significant rapport establishment between the state president, Mr F.W. de Klerk, and the ANC deputy president, Mr Nelson Mandela, has contributed significantly towards progress in the Groote Schuur talks.

This was a view expressed by one of the ANC negotiators on Friday morning who also said that the talks were expected to end well before the scheduled 6.30pm finish. They could be over by as early as 3.00 or 4.00pm.

Sources in the ANC camp were on Friday most optimistic of an early and positive conclusion to the three days of negotiating. A key factor, they said, was the exceptional rapport established between Mr de Klerk and Mr Mandela and the fact that both men had legal minds.

Mr de Klerk's relaxed style was well matched to the steady temperament of Mr Mandela and it appeared they had developed a special understanding of each other.

It is not yet certain precisely in what form the parties will address the large contingent of international journalists gathered for the talks but the ANC negotiators are due to leave Cape Town as a group early on Saturday morning. Some will stopover in Johannesburg where a large rally is being arranged for Sunday.

#### **4 May Talks Resume Early**

MB0405074690 Johannesburg SAPA in English  
0733 GMT 4 May 90

[Text] Cape Town [dateline as received]—The Groote Schuur talks between the ANC delegation and the SA [South Africa] Government were resumed a half an hour earlier than planned on Friday morning when the two delegations met at 9 AM.

They were originally scheduled to start at 9.30. The meeting is scheduled to end at 6 PM. No decision has been made yet on how or who is to issue the talks communique, or when it will be issued.

#### **ANC's Mbeki Addresses Cape Town Press Club**

MB0305124190 Johannesburg SAPA in English  
1227 GMT 3 May 90

[Text] Cape Town May 3 SAPA—The historic talks between the ANC [African National Congress] and the government were taking place in a pleasant atmosphere in which there was a realisation among all parties present that the discussions should have taken place a long time ago, a member of the ANC delegation, Mr Thabo Mbeki, told the Cape Town Press Club on Thursday.

Mr Mbeki, the ANC's director of international affairs, said there was a feeling of surprise that all those present at the talks were "perfectly reasonable" and committed to finding solutions. "We all were surprised at how foolish we felt. Everybody understood there was nobody there with horns."

He said when the meeting on Wednesday closed and everyone departed, there was a feeling that, not only had there been movement forward, but further progress was possible.

Before beginning his address, Mr Mbeki said the parties to the talks had agreed that no comment would be made until the talks were over. He would not be in a position to give any details about their progress. However if the talks were a success and the obstacles to negotiation were removed, the next step in the process would have to be considered.

At present the conflict was between those who were in favour of a unitary, democratic and non-racial South Africa on the one side, and those who believed there



must be change—but on the basis that there was recognition of racial and ethnic groups.

The ANC and other groupings such as the UDF [United Democratic Front] and COSATU [Congress of South African Trade Unions] would be on the former side while President F.W. de Klerk and many whites, together with people who claimed to represent certain groups, on the other.

An example of people speaking on behalf of groups were people who were seen as representing "seven million Zulus".

He said a notion existed that the ANC portrayed itself as the sole and authentic representative of the large majority of people. This was not true because the ANC believed all parties that had been involved in the struggle should participate in the negotiation process.

The ANC did not believe only itself and the National Party should be present at the negotiating table. The ANC would propose the best way of resolving the question of who should be parties to the negotiation of a new constitution was to put it to the people.

A constituent assembly should be elected in the same way as happened in Namibia. This would stop the debate about which party had the biggest support and which was the true and authentic representatives of the people. The next step in the process was the "sticky question" of the need for an interim government until the new constitution had been adopted.

"It would have to enjoy the confidence of all the political forces that had participated in the negotiation process, and would have to have the governing authority to ensure the implementation of all that had been agreed upon."

The problem of who supervised the elections would also have to be addressed as it was unacceptable that this be done by agents of the National Party government.

He said he found it difficult to understand why there should be any opposition to the concept of an interim government from inside the country or internationally, because it would only be forced after the election of a constituent assembly. This was a basic constitutional principle.

#### **More on Mbeki's Press Club Address**

*MB0305133590 Johannesburg SAPA in English  
1252 GMT 3 May 90*

[Text] Cape Town May 3 SAPA—The atmosphere at the historic talks between the government and the ANC have had their jovial moments.

Thabo Mbeki, the ANC's director of international affairs, jokingly referred to the minister of foreign affairs, Mr Pik Botha, as his deputy.

"He was not very pleased with that," Mr Mbeki told the Cape Town Press Club on Thursday.

He also said he would lay a complaint with "a particular government minister" when talks resumed again on Thursday because the minister had been doing his office work during the talks on the first day on Wednesday.

#### **Mbeki on 'Danger' of White Fear**

*MB0305132090 Johannesburg SAPA in English  
1301 GMT 3 May 90*

[Text] Cape Town, May 2 [as received], SAPA—The principal danger facing South Africa at present was the fears of whites which would become more desperate as the prospect of real change came closer, the ANC's director of international affairs, Thabo Mbeki, said on Thursday. Addressing the Cape Town Press Club, he said South Africa was in interesting and dangerous times as change came about in the country.

"We will inherit products of apartheid such as Barend Strydom who clearly believed he was correct in what he did. There are probably more Barend Strydoms who are armed and who believe the apartheid system was a God-given one and the closer we get to real change, the more desperate these sort of people will become."

He said the ANC had been dealing with hostility against it for many years as forces had visited Lusaka to shoot and bomb its members.

"When we caught some of them we realised they believed they had a divine mission to destroy the ANC."

This type of fear was the principal danger that could arise from the process of change.

#### **Mbeki on SABC, Press Role**

*MB0305134690 Johannesburg SAPA in English  
1339 GMT 3 May 90*

[Text] Cape Town, May 3, SAPA—Control of the SABC [South African Broadcasting Corporation] would be come a definite problem in future negotiations, according to the ANC's Thabo Mbeki.

If an election for a constituent assembly was held and an interim government put in place, the question of the impartiality of the SABC would have to be addressed, Mr. Mbeki, the ANC's director of international affairs, told the Cape Town Press Club on Thursday.

The SABC was a "powerful voice" and the property of the National Party.

Even though its reporting of the ANC had improved recently and was welcomed, the people who ran it were appointed by "one of the parties to the conflict" (the National Party).

The SABC had an important role to play in the future and it would have to be seen to be acting impartially, even before an interim government was in place.

The press in general also had a role to play in persuading and educating people for the need for change and understanding of the process.

"The press should not be sceptical (about change) but should encourage movement forward," he said.

#### **PAC's Alexander Said 'Stable' After Accident**

*MB0305151890 Johannesburg SAPA in English  
1431 GMT 3 May 90*

[Text] Johannesburg May 3 SAPA—The condition of PAC [Pan Africanist Congress] internal general secretary, Mr Benny Alexander, who was involved in a serious accident in the northern Cape early on Thursday, has been described as stable.

An official of the Kimberley Hospital—where Mr Alexander was transferred after crashing a vehicle outside Hopetown—said he was out of danger, but was still receiving constant attention.

"His condition is stable and we are monitoring his progress. At this stage, we cannot say when he will be discharged. A colleague of his, who is also in hospital, has regained consciousness and is also off the danger list," she said.

She could only confirm the presence of Mr Alexander and Cassim Christiaan at the hospital.

They were transferred from the Hopetown Hospital after the accident.

PAC internal treasurer, Mr Mike Matsobane, told SAPA his organisation had despatched a doctor and lawyer from Cape Town to assess the situation.

#### **Leaders Suspicious Over Accident**

*MB0305205990 Johannesburg SAPA in English  
2046 GMT 3 May 90*

[Text] Johannesburg May 3 SAPA—Pan-Africanist Congress Internal General Secretary Benny Alexander has been discharged from Kimberley Hospital after an accident in which his vehicle overturned near Hopetown, in the Karoo, on Thursday morning.

A hospital spokesman at Kimberley's Medicity confirmed that Mr Cassim Christiaan, who was apparently with Mr Alexander in the car, had been admitted at that institution and was still there on Thursday night. The spokesman was not able to offer official comment but said Mr Christiaan did not appear to be seriously injured.

PAC President Zeph Mothopeng told SAPA that congress officials would be provision more information from Kimberley on Friday, although his understanding was that only Mr Christiaan and Mr Alexander had been in the car when it overturned. They had been on their way back from the PAC May Day rally at Mitchells Plain, Cape Town.

Although the PAC was waiting on details, it could not discount more sinister speculation about the crash. "It's just too much of a coincidence," said Mr Mothopeng.

Confirming the accident earlier on Thursday, the PAC's secretary for finance, Mr Mike Matsobane, noted that the organisation had been plagued by a spate of "dubious" car accidents in the past three weeks.

"Three weeks ago, Japhta Masemola died in a car accident under very dubious circumstances. Then Ishmael Chand died in road accident on his way to his brother's funeral in Botswana. His brother, Sam, and his family was assassinated a week before. Now Mr Alexander and other aides have been injured in an accident. It is making us in the organisation suspicious," said Mr Matsobane.

Mr Christiaan is an executive member of Quibla, a radical Islamic group in the Western Cape that has close links with the PAC.

#### **\* Mandela's Abilities 'Fail' To Meet Expectations**

*34000596E Johannesburg FINANCIAL MAIL  
in English 6 Apr 90 p 47*

[Text] When Nelson Mandela walked away from 27 years of imprisonment on February 12 he carried the hopes of most South Africans on his shoulders.

Now, less than two months later, those hopes are evaporating as Mandela's abilities fail to match up to over-optimistic expectations. That failure puts a whole new complexion on SA [South Africa]'s political future.

SA Institute of Race Relations executive director John Kane-Berman says: "The advantage of 27 years in jail is that he did not put a political foot wrong. In jail his reputation as a martyr and international celebrity was built by a sympathetic media. But now he is free there is less certainty about his political influence—his ability to mobilize people and persuade them to do what he wants them to do. He has now to operate in a tough political environment."

Idasa executive director Alex Boraine adds: "Moral authority is no substitute for political muscle." Boraine, too, does not believe Mandela is slipping, rather that people's expectations of him were pitched unrealistically high. He has no illusions that progress towards black-white power sharing will be anything but difficult.

The prospective difficulties are epitomized by the black education crisis. Black children continue sporadically to boycott classes in protest at poor education standards, inferior teaching facilities, poor and poorly paid teachers, massive black unemployment which perpetuates the cycle of deprivation of inadequately trained black school-leavers and, above all, frustration that political and economic empowerment have not followed directly on the heels of Mandela's release.

In his first mass rally in Soweto, Mandela stressed the need for discipline and called on pupils to return to their classes. He was ignored and, even if the children had gone to school next day, they would have been faced with a strike by teachers protesting at low pay.

The children are now used to the violence of street politics, and as Fanie Cloete, of Wits University's Center for Policy Studies sees it, their response underscored the difficulties faced by Mandela and the ANC [African National Congress] in changing policy lines. The armed struggle has been fundamental to the ANC's strategy for years and the organization's supporters will find difficulty in shifting quickly towards the new strategy of negotiation. The same goes for the NP [National Party] whose supporters have been told for years the ANC was Evil incarnate and who are now trailing way behind President F.W. de Klerk in the move to political reform.

The difficulties are worsened by Mandela's ambivalent calls at mass rallies. Recently in Natal he urged ANC and Inkatha supporters battling for dominance of black townships to throw their pangas into the sea. In almost the next breath he called on them to intensify the armed struggle against apartheid.

Cloete believes the ANC is facing a crisis of existence and that it deepens the longer the organization delays establishment of offices and organizational structures inside SA. This, in turn, is affected by the intensification of the leadership struggle within the ANC as the organization scents the closeness of real political power.

The crisis is also worsened by the challenges to the ANC apparently being mounted by groups such as the UDF [United Democratic Front] and Cosatu [Congress of South African Trade Unions], headed by strong and politically ambitious leaders and which have well-structured organizations throughout the country and can mobilize their followers effectively.

Ironically, the ANC needs the NP if it is to survive and become the unquestioned dominant force in black politics. The ANC needs to demonstrate rapid progress towards black empowerment if it is not to lose support to more militant organizations such as the Pan-Africanist Congress. Many blacks expect empowerment to arrive more quickly than seems politically possible at present and could well heed the calls of radicalism as frustration sets in.

The converse of this is that de Klerk needs the ANC to ensure that progress towards accommodation and negotiations is smooth enough to satisfy white supporters. If violence persists and black demands seem too radical, apprehensive whites could swing increasingly behind the CP [Conservative Party] or the AWB [Afrikaner Resistance Movement], scuppering chances of a negotiated settlement.

Opponents of the political drama's two principal actors are winning support as violence in the black townships escalates almost daily. De Klerk has never said so, but it

seems plain he was expecting some violence once he lifted the lid on the political pot. But whether he expected the present level—more than 400 people have died since the start of the year and 1990 threatens to become the bloodiest and most deadly ever—is another matter.

For the present the police and security forces are struggling to contain the killings, but with little apparent success. Increasing levels of violence are understandable, says Cloete. The exuberance blacks felt at Mandela's release has boiled over into an already existing violent state of affairs with the release of pent-up frustrations over education, unemployment and so on.

Cloete warns of the danger that the situation could spiral Lebanese-style. He does not believe a Lebanese situation will necessarily develop but warns of the risk unless it is contained. Boraine adds that de Klerk's room to maneuver is restricted. He has played the ANC card and now has little left in his hand if violence rises more and black anger continues to boil. One real option, Boraine fears, is repression, which would undo all the good of de Klerk's recent moves.

Fundamentally, the NP and ANC have to move fast to ensure negotiation and SA's own version of perestroika work. Both have been pushed willy-nilly into moderate, centrist positions in an SA polarizing between the Left and Right. The country's outlook is more uncertain than when Mandela took those first steps to freedom.

#### \* Rightwing 'Protection' Group Formed

34000605A Johannesburg THE CITIZEN in English  
7 Apr 90 pp 1, 2

[Article by Michele Vermaak]

[Text] A new Right-wing group has been established on the West Rand as a result of the upsurge in crime on the Reef.

A spokesman for the Wes-Randse Blanke Gemeenskapswag (WBG), Mr Stephanus Venter, a West Rand businessman, told the Press at a meeting at a house in Delarey yesterday that the group which he stressed was not a vigilante organisation had been established to protect Whites against Black-on-White crimes.

The area covered by the organisation stretches from Westdene to the border of Krugersdorp. The organisation boasts a membership of more than 600 and claims it is growing daily.

"We are not interested in politics and we are not vigilantes. We will act strictly within the law to protect lives, property, our families and neighbours.

"The WBG is not, in the words of the government, an 'alternative structure' but we are delivering purely a supplementary community service which so many honest members of the South African Police to the best of their ability do."

Mr Venter said that as a result of the alarming rate at which policemen were resigning from the force, due to poor salaries, and the involvement of the remaining members of the force in fighting unrest in many areas, it was unrealistic to expect the police to be present everywhere and to provide effective protection.

Therefore, a number of residents on the West Rand had come forward to form the WBG. The group was run by a committee and there was a leader in each suburb.

Mr Venter would not name members in the committee, and no photographs of those present were allowed for security reasons.

The organisation was formed last week and a uniform has not been designed yet, but Mr Venter said they would probably have armbands by which members could be identified.

The organisation will, using unmarked cars, patrol suburbs in the area on a 24-hour basis. Members will be armed in compliance with the law.

Every member will attend lectures at which he will be properly instructed on the legal aspects of his civic rights and duties so that he can exercise it unhindered within the framework of the law. Retired policemen will help with these lectures.

In addition, members will also be trained in fire fighting and first aid.

"We will aid the police in a co-ordinated manner. So far we have made one arrest in a case of assault. Otherwise, we have just kept a watchful eye and reported suspicious-looking people."

Mr Venter said that as it was a White area, which only had White ratepayers, they would only aid White people in trouble. Asked whether they would help domestic servants living on White premises who was in trouble, he replied, "No."

Asked whether they would arrest a White man causing trouble or committing a crime, he said statistics in the area showed that about 97 percent of thefts were committed by unknown persons or Blacks, and murder was about 100 percent Black on White.

Mr Venter said there were a number of reasons why members of the WBG did not believe in becoming police reservists.

These was that maximum community involvement could only be achieved if there were no legal obligations on a person to give up determined hours of his free time to exercise prescribed tasks.

The WBG was also not prepared to be used by the government of the day purely for "political duties" and to adopt the so-called "new police culture."

Furthermore, as the police force was largely Black, "the WBG is not interested in serving with the likes of the Rockmans and similar elements who shelter in the police force."

#### \* Recently Formed Rightwing Groups Surveyed

34000605B Johannesburg SUNDAY STAR in English  
8 Apr 90 p 2

[Article by Patrick Bulger and John MacLennan]

[Text] White rightwingers are urgently establishing a network of local "armies" to counter the wave of unrest and violence rolling across large parts of South Africa.

Armed groups are being formed under the umbrella of two separate rightwing organisations—the official Opposition Conservative Party and the militant Afrikaner Weerstandsbeweging of Eugene Terre-Blanche.

And the rightwing plans to launch a mass political resistance programme to the Government's power-sharing plans with a rally of half a million people.

It is to be held at the Voortrekker Monument on 26 May to coincide with the date on which the National Party [NP] came to power more than 40 years ago.

Sources say the occasion could see the establishment of a rightwing military force which is intended to attract recruits from both the police and army and rival both organisations.

At the same time some rightwing hotheads who attended a confidential planning meeting in Pretoria are now talking about the possibility of a coup to oust President de Klerk.

The instigators hope, as a minimum, to set up such concerted resistance that the Government will be paralysed.

Meanwhile, established paramilitary groups say they are operating outside political allegiance.

This week, the West Rand White Community Guard, a self-styled paramilitary group, was established to protect white lives and property on the West Rand from Westdene to Krugersdorp.

Announcing their formation, former traffic and military policeman Stefanus Venter said whites on the West Rand had had enough.

Mr Venter, now a self-employed businessman, said the group had 600 members and that there was a committee member for each suburb in the area.

Mr Venter said there was no overall leader and that the group was not affiliated to any particular political grouping.

The CP [Conservative Party] has thrown its weight behind the formation of groups of armed whites. Party



secretary Andries Beyers said they supported the formation of such groups to help the police, provided they were "disciplined and organised."

CP leader Andries Treurnicht, addressing a one-day CP national convention in Pretoria this week, called on delegates not to stand in the way of the police, but "if situations get out of hand and the SADF [South African Defense Forces] and police can't take action, it is our right to exercise self-protection."

Earlier in the week, the AWB [Africaner Resistance Movement]'s Mr TerreBlanche called at a public meeting for whites to arm themselves.

The upsurge in white rightwing militancy follows the successful formation in Welkom in the Free State of an armed group known as Blanke Veiligheid (BV).

The 3,000-strong group helped crush a black consumer boycott in the mining town and vowed not to allow another ANC [African National Congress] protest march through the town. Although most BV members are CP sympathisers, the group has no formal link to either the CP or the AWB.

Rightwing sympathisers in the conservative western Transvaal are undergoing regular weapons training courses because the Government had legalised the ANC's armed wing, Umkhonto we Sizwe.

The AWB appears to be the best organised on the military front, although Mr TerreBlanche has denied he is setting up an alternative defence force. In an interview, he disclosed that his organisation was activating commandos in towns all around the country.

The May rally organisers, under the umbrella of the newly established Afrikaner Front, have held several meetings. At least one of these was attended by Dr Treurnicht and several of his MP [Member of Parliament]s.

One meeting was held under the chairmanship of Dr Treurnicht of 1 December and there was a follow-up on 1 January.

According to the minutes the organisers plan an extra-parliamentary front which will fight to protect the Afrikaner.

One of those present, Afrikaner Front chairman Professor Johan Schabot, suggested the option of revolution as the route to rightwing power. Another, Professor J.C. Lombard of Bloemfontein, suggested Mr de Klerk be derailed through a coup.

Dr Treurnicht opened a meeting by saying the new South Africa would become the cemetery of Afrikanerdom.

CP workers are asking 13-year-olds to sign the party's 1 million signature campaign in protest against Mr de Klerk's negotiation initiatives, according to NP MP.

Nat MP for Benoni, Johan Lemmer, said this week he had received a call from a parent of a Std 6 pupil at a Benoni school whose son had been accosted by CP workers and asked to sign the petition.

The CP has not denied the allegation.

Mr Lemmer condemned the CP action and called on Dr Treurnicht not to misuse 13-year-olds who had no knowledge of the political realities.

Dr Treurnicht is reported to have justified 13-year-olds signing the petition, saying that the word "scholar" was written after their signatures.

#### \* Analysis Refutes CP-AWB Connection

34000605C Durban THE DAILY NEWS in English  
2 Apr 90 p 5

[Article by Graham Linscott; first paragraph is introduction]

[Text] Research has shot down the perception that the Conservative Party [CP] and the AWB [Afrikaner Resistance Movement] have much in common. An analysis has revealed that the CP has little sympathy for right-wing militancy. Special Correspondent Graham Linscott reports.

Tens of thousands of right-wingers can be called out to march in protest through the streets of Pretoria. Prominent among the banners are the insignia of the Afrikaner Weerstandsbeweging and even the Nazi swastika.

The Conservative Party protested at the time that extremists were hounding in on its act, but the impression remained of a general aggressive militancy on the right.

According to one of South Africa's most prominent market research analysts, this perception is almost certainly wrong. The CP (which won almost one-third of the white vote in 1989) has little sympathy for right-wing militancy and many of its members are sensitive to the injustices perpetrated against blacks.

Dr Jannie Hofmeyr, of the University of Cape Town, says research shows that only 19 percent of CP supporters are also supporters of the AWB, while they generally reject the AWB view that it is legitimate to seize power by force.

Writing in Monitor, journal of the Human Rights Trust, he says research shows CP supporters to be people who are unable to innovate in the face of the rapid change and who attempt to cling to the past.

They tend to be poorer and less educated than supporters of the National Party and the Democratic Party. They are the white support base to which the NP once gave a sense of dignity and destiny, but now feel they have been abandoned.

Like all people they seek to protect their interests and chosen ways of life, but are trapped in the belief that they will be unable to do so in the face of racial integration.

To them survival means not the survival of the individual but the survival of the group.

"Though many people find it difficult to think otherwise, it would be a mistake to think of the white right wing as wholly immoral," says Dr Hofmeyr.

"Certainly, as in most political movements, there is a militant element to the right. But at its best the white right combines a surprising sensitivity to the historical injustices perpetrated against blacks with a genuinely creative attempt to resolve the dilemma.

"Carel Boshoff, for example, admits both the moral illegitimacy of the current situation and its practical untenability. He therefore argues both that black majority rule for South Africa is inevitable and that it is just.

"However, he himself cannot see a place for his people in a non-racial state. He therefore advocates the creation of a 'Boerestaat,' a separate and relatively modest nation-state for the Afrikaner people.

"And, contrary to what most would expect, he is not seeking the goldfields or the old Afrikaner republics. He is seeking an area which is relatively sparsely populated and which he hopes nobody else wants."

Dr Hofmeyr says it would be unwise not to try to understand the yearning of the white right to express itself through preservation of group identity.

"This is by no means to say that we need to accept the preservation of 'group rights' as an imperative. It is however to acknowledge that there are people for whom the survival of the group, by whatever means, constitutes the key to their personal sense of life's value.

"If this is not taken seriously, serious mistakes could be made as we attempt jointly to discover a just and democratic destiny which is inclusive of all South Africans."

#### **\* COSATU Urges MDM To Build Structures**

34000581A Johannesburg THE NEW NATION  
in English 16-22 Mar 90 pp 6-7

[Text] The country has been fired by political activity over the past few weeks. But, say COSATU [Congress of South African Trade Unions] leaders Chris Dlamini and Jay Naidoo, the mass democratic movement has to build structures at every level and a programme of action to direct this activity and ensure that it leads the people to liberation.

The mass democratic movement's (MDM) urgent task is to build structures and a programme of action capable of providing direction at a local level to mass activity.

This is the call made by COSATU's first vice-president, Chris Dlamini, and general secretary Jay Naidoo.

"What the MDM had learnt from the current upsurge in political activity is that while we have talked about building organs of people's power and have adopted many resolutions at conferences about building organization, we did not practically implement those decisions," said Dlamini.

"This has given the enemy space to use rumor to disorganize, destabilize and cause serious confusion in our townships.

"In Katlehong, the clashes were first between two taxi associations. But then the whole situation was turned into a fight between the hostel dwellers and the township dwellers.

"If we had an organized presence in the area which was disciplined and had a clear leadership, solutions would have been arrived at through structures.

#### **Rumors of Attacks**

"Because of the absence of organization, rumors about hostel dwellers attacking township residents were spread and people believed them and violence erupted."

Naidoo points out that, because grassroots democratic structures like street and area committees have not been established, progressive organizations are still activist—rather than mass-based.

"This is a problem, as progressive leadership is not widely recognized and, in times of mass mobilization, it becomes far more difficult for our organizations to exercise discipline.

"If no clear leadership is provided, mass mobilization can quickly lead to divisions, demoralization and a lack of confidence in the leadership of our organizations."

Naidoo points out that Katlehong is surrounded by some of the best organized industrial areas in the country, yet there was still a lack of leadership in the community.

"What has happened to COSATU's slogan that a COSATU leader in the factory must also be a leader in his or her community? Our policy of building working class politics and leadership extends way beyond the factory floor.

"The trade unions particularly have learnt the lesson that we are not politicizing and educating our members enough," adds Dlamini.

"When Katlehong erupted, one of the demands that came from hostel dwellers, who are workers themselves, was that people should not wear the T-shirts of the ANC [African National Congress], UDF [United Democratic Front] and COSATU. They also said there should be no toyi-toying.



"This is a lesson to us that we have not been able to politicize our members, the workers, sufficiently.

"This is a priority for us and for the whole MDM."

Another key priority, says Dlamini, is to develop a programme of action that addresses people's major grievances, like rent, lack of housing, poor education, unemployment and transport problems.

"We have to work out a programme to ensure that these needs are met by the authorities. But some of these problems will exist even after our liberation, so this means that we need to develop a long-term programme."

Concrete attempts also have to be made to address people's problems in the bantustans, such as corrupt administrations, unemployment and poor education, says Naidoo.

The demand should also be made for a Constituent Assembly made up of elected representatives from all areas of the country, the COSATU leaders urge.

"Our key demands should be the demand for power, the right to vote and the right to share the wealth of the country," says Naidoo.

"In all our mass campaigns around housing, education and the living wage campaign, our rallying cry must be 'The People Shall Govern'—the demand for a Constituent Assembly."

#### National Civic

Naidoo and Dlamini both stressed the need for civics to be built under a national civic structure.

"We have to build street committees, block committees, hostel block committees and leadership to direct these committees," says Dlamini.

Attention also needs to be paid to building MDM structures and campaigns, organization in the rural areas, building the ANC and building the working class.

"We need to channel resources to the rural areas and bantustans. MDM leadership must go to these areas and address the people there and help build concrete leadership in these areas," says Dlamini.

"COSATU and its affiliates must open offices in the bantustans, employ organizers and start organizing the workers in these areas."

"Only a powerfully organized working class movement is able to defend our interests," adds Naidoo.

"This means we have to strengthen working class organizations on all fronts such as the civic, youth, student and women's organizations."

But while the MDM is not yet as organized as it should be, there have been deliberate attempts to provoke violence, cause division and destroy progressive organizations.

Naidoo points out that the state did not introduce political reforms and relax repression out of a change of heart but because it is faced with bankruptcy.

"The state still wants to undermine the ANC and still sees the Black Local Authorities as a backbone for its plans in the black community. The JMCs still operate in a different form and the state has begun once again to detain activists.

"Clearly there are elements that want to disorganize our unity and undermine the legitimacy of the ANC," says Naidoo.

Elements of this pattern are the evidence of agent provocateurs stirring up conflict, especially along ethnic lines or between organizations with different ideological backgrounds.

Katlehong is a prime example of how conflict was stirred up.

According to Katlehong Civic Association publicity secretary Paul Maseko, rumors were spread in the township's hostel that hostel dwellers were about to be attacked by residents. This created panic, tension and suspicion.

Vincent Francis, a UDF official on the East Rand, said that similar rumors were spread among hostel dwellers in Vosloorus, Wattville and Tembisa.

Also in Tembisa, rumors were circulated that "the Zulus from Katlehong" were about to attack residents. However, a local priest, Reverend Phineus Maphethu, who heard the rumors, said he drove around the township but found no evidence whatsoever to support it.

Both Francis and Maphethu said they believed the rumors were spread deliberately so that violence would erupt throughout the East Rand.

"We have proved beyond doubt that there is nothing like black-on-black violence but that enemy agents are promoting violence and conflict," says Dlamini.

"The strategy is along the lines of the government's old divide and rule strategy."

"Initially our townships were ethnically divided and the state would provoke one tribe against another.

"Now enemy agents are spreading rumors along ethnic and tribal lines to provoke people against each other."

"Much work needs to be done to unite the township residents and hostel dwellers," adds Naidoo.

"Only grassroots organizing with house-to-house work and building street committees will allow us to identify and isolate the perpetrators of violence amongst the people.

"Our organizations must begin a membership drive where every student joins Cosas, every youth joins

Sayco, every worker joins COSATU, every woman a women's organization and all our people join the civics."

**\* Lekota Says Government To Blame for Unrest**

34000581B Johannesburg THE NEW NATION  
in English 16-22 Mar 90 pp 6-7

[Interview with UDF's Patrick Lekota]

[Text] The government must meet the people's demand for a democratic, non-racial, unitary South Africa then the unrest will end, says the UDF [United Democratic Front]'s publicity secretary Patrick 'Terror' Lekota.

[THE NEW NATION] Since the unbanning of the ANC [African National Congress] and SACP [South African Communist Party] and the release of Nelson Mandela, there has been an upsurge in political activity, especially in the bantustans. Why do you think this is so?

[Lekota] First of all, for a long time black people have not had the right to express themselves and suddenly when openings emerge, frustrations of many years gush out like a flood.

Secondly, when the government released Comrade Mandela after it had unbanned the ANC, our people looked forward to a speedy beginning to the process of negotiation.

But then the government began to stall on the fulfillment of other conditions for negotiations. That provoked people into restlessness. For the many people that have suffered so much and for such a long time, the need for change is urgent.

Thirdly, when the government dragged its feet about a negotiated settlement, people resorted to the old and tested methods of expressing themselves.

The government has moved towards [negotiations] as a result of [this kind of] pressure from the masses of people, so today people believe that the government will only move forward and move fast enough when subjected to pressure.

It is important to note that the constituency with which the movement has to contend is a constituency that is subjected to heavy deprivation—lack of housing, no proper education and training, lack of recreational facilities. We could go on and on and on.

That constituency has got only one hope if it is to get out of this situation. And that hope is a speedy negotiated settlement.

It is important for the government to respond to the demands of the movement. After all these years, since the beginning of the century, for our people to support the movement when it says that it is still prepared to negotiate with the government is an unprecedented act of goodwill. And that goodwill ought to be reciprocated by the government. Failure to do so can only provoke disgruntlement and even bitterness.

The situation in the bantustans is particularly significant. It is similar to that of the townships as far as the town councils are concerned.

In the townships, the town councils are corrupt, do not have the confidence of the people and do not serve the interests of the people. Similarly, in the bantustans, people have been suffering under corrupt and inefficient administrations.

Our people in the bantustans have learnt from their counterparts in the urban areas who have brought down the councils in wave after wave. They have learnt that these administrations can only be removed by mass action.

But, even overriding that, our people in the bantustans are aware that some kind of settlement is about to be found in South Africa.

They would like to be part of that settlement. If they remain docile to those administrations in the bantustans, a settlement may well be found that excludes them. That is why they are demanding reincorporation into South Africa.

[THE NEW NATION] Some political activity has spilled over into violence, especially in Katlehong, Khutsong and Maokeng near Kroonstad. How do you explain this violence?

[Lekota] There are a variety of causes for the violence. But the basic cause is the rejection of apartheid and the conditions it brings.

There are also points that are peculiar to particular areas. For example, the Katlehong conflict is really a struggle between the Natalspruit Taxi Association and the Katlehong Taxi Association. It has only involved the community because these associations serve these communities.

But because the Katlehong town council—which officially has the power to control that area—does not enjoy community confidence, it is unable to exercise control.

On the other hand, our civic structures there that do enjoy the confidence of the people do not have the official stamp of approval.

So there is a certain amount of dissipation of power which creates a situation that no particular group can control. Hence the kind of situation we witnessed there.

The situation in Maokeng and Khutsong has also been provoked by corrupt councils.

[THE NEW NATION] What is the situation like in Natal Now?

[Lekota] The UDF's assessment is that the violence has slowly begun to taper off.

There are areas where the violence was cut off altogether after Comrade Mandela addressed the people in Natal.

This happened in Malagasy near Umlazi for instance. But there are still communities that remain locked in hostility.

One new problem has arisen recently. Mischief-makers—agent provocateurs—have introduced certain ideas in an attempt to discredit the movement.

In the period when many of our experienced activists were in detention, some ill-disciple set in in our organizations.

A lot of 'sponsored elements' found their way into our structures. In some areas you would find people carrying out activities not officially decided on by the UDF, but wearing the T-shirts of the front and its affiliates and allies.

These people were used to discredit the movement, because when people saw them they thought they were carrying out the policies of the movement.

This problem was, I believe, deliberately created by the state at a time when it suited them to paint the movement in a bad light.

[THE NEW NATION] Gangsters and vigilantes like the Jackrollers in Soweto and the Sinyoras in kwaMashu seem to have taken advantage of the confusion in the townships. What is the UDF's position on these groups and their activities?

[Lekota] We totally reject these gangsters and vigilantes. The agent provocateurs that I have spoken about are related to the Jackroller element and particularly the Sinyoras in Natal.

We in the UDF reject the kind of summary justice which has become the order of the day in some of the communities. For instance, a person may commit a mistake, and then immediately people completely untutored in the art of judging cases and passing sentences take control of the situation.

In many cases, the death sentence is automatic. A man may have beaten another man. Without taking into account what the circumstances are, we find the summary execution of people.

This situation is dangerous, even for the movement itself. A responsible and disciplined member of an organization may say that there should not be rioting or looting. Then those elements interested in looting for themselves may say that the comrade is a sell-out simply because the comrade is calling for discipline.

But it is not enough for us just to reject the gangsters and vigilantes. It is also important for our activists to come forward and ensure that our local formations constitute points to which the masses can run for defence.

The call we have been making to our comrades has been that they must carry themselves in such a way that the

communities in which they operate perceive them as their protectors, their friends and as people who fight for their interests.

[THE NEW NATION] How can people protect themselves against attacks from gangs and vigilantes?

[Lekota] This is a crucial point. Clearly, when we say we don't want violence, this does not mean that we say communities that are under attack may not defend themselves. Self-defence is universally recognized as being justifiable.

But there is a difference: between defending oneself and retaliating against an assault.

Those communities and those organizations to which our people belong have the right to defend themselves but they must not take action that is offensive.

This means people must use an equal amount of force to defend themselves that is used to attack them. Immediately the attacking force is frightened away, it becomes offensive for our people to pursue them.

In other words, you defend yourself only to the point that you drive away those that are attacking. You don't now move onto the attack yourself.

Defence committees may be formed by responsible people which then guide the communities to implement the approach I have spoken about. But together with defence committees, peace committees must be built.

so we must not only be interested in setting up defence structures. Defence committees must not only defend communities but work at transforming the situation into a state of permanent peace.

#### \* Joe Slovo Discusses Socialism, Democracy

34000581C Johannesburg THE NEW NATION  
in English 16-22 Mar 90 pp 10-11

[Interview with SACP Secretary-General Joe Slovo]

[Text] Recent events in Eastern Europe have sparked vigorous debate about socialism. Here NEW NATION publishes an interview with SACP [South African Communist Party] secretary-general Jose Slovo from the coming issue of the party's organ, "Umsebenzi", which deals with issues relating to socialism and democracy.

Has the SACP adopted a collective position on the distortions of socialist practice which culminated in the recent events in Eastern Europe?

[Slovo] My own first reflections are contained in the recent publication, "Has Socialism Failed?" The essay has been authorized by our Party leadership, not as a final, collective position, but as a launching pad for further critical thought and debate both within the Party and throughout the broad democratic movement.

The South African commercial press, like their counterparts in the West, are daily crowing about the 'crisis of socialism'. How do you react to all this?

[Slovo] Before we even begin to address the present problems of socialism, let's remind ourselves of another crisis. Two-thirds of humanity is directly subject to the capitalist system. Capitalism is not just the relative wealth of North America, Western Europe and Japan, it is the mass starvation, the crippling debt burden, the catastrophic levels of unemployment in the Third World.

Over 90 percent of people on the African continent live out their wretched and repressed lives in stagnating and declining capitalist-orientated economies. International capital, to whom most of these countries are mortgaged, virtually regards cheap bread, free education and full employment as economic crimes.

This is all the crisis of capitalism. And even within the advanced capitalist world the working people continue to face the social evils which stem from a system which puts profits before people.

But don't we risk giving even more ammunition to our enemies?

[Slovo] I don't agree that we can allow such a consideration to block what is absolutely necessary: an unsparing critique of the past of existing socialism. We need to carry through such a critique in order to draw the necessary lessons for ourselves. To do so openly is an assertion of justified confidence in the future of socialism and its inherent moral superiority.

By a critique of the past of existing socialism do you mean basically a critique of Stalinism?

[Slovo] Yes, in the sense of a bureaucratic-authoritarian style of leadership (of parties both in and out of power) which denuded the party and the practice of socialism of most of its democratic content and concentrated power in the hands of a tiny self-perpetuating elite.

While the mould for Stalinism was cast under Stalin's leadership, he doesn't bear sole responsibility for its negative practices. The essential content of Stalinism—socialism without democracy—was retained even after Stalin in the Soviet Union (until Gorbachev's intervention), albeit without some of the terror, brutality and judicial distortions associated with Stalin himself.

While conceding the need for change, some comrades argue that many of the present problems in Eastern Europe are precisely the result of Gorbachev's reforms. There is a view that perestroika and glasnost are being applied too hastily.

To blame perestroika and glasnost for the ailments of socialism is like blaming the diagnosis and the prescription for the illness. The only way to ensure the future of socialism is to grasp the nettle with the political courage of a Gorbachev.

In general, the fact that the processes of perestroika and glasnost came too slowly, too little and too late in Eastern Europe did more than anything else to endanger the socialist perspective there. It is through these processes—and they must be implemented with all possible speed—that socialism has any hope of showing its essentially human face.

Does the present crisis in the socialist world prove that marxism as a science is flawed?

[Slovo] No, not at all. The serious errors that emerged in the practice of existing socialism are not rooted in the basic tenets of Marxist revolutionary science. They are the result of distortions and misapplications. They were not inevitable.

The economic stagnation of socialism and its poor technological performance as compared to the advanced capitalist countries cannot be attributed to the ineffectiveness of socialist relations of production but rather to their distortion. Socialist relations of production provide the most effective framework for maximizing humanity's productive capacity and using its products in the interest of the whole society.

Likewise, the great divide which developed between socialism and political democracy should not be treated as flowing naturally from key aspects of socialist doctrine.

Unfortunately, this misconception has been fuelled by the sullied human rights record and the barrack-room collectivism of some of the experiences of existing socialism. But Marxism itself clearly projects a system anchored in deep-seated political democracy and the rights of the individual.

And, let's face it, these ideals can only truly be attained when society as a whole assumes control and direction of all its riches.

No matter how loudly the ideologies of capital might be crowing, we continue to insist that a society cannot be democratic which is ruled by profit and social inequality, and in which power over the most vital areas of life is outside public control.

Could we look a little more closely at this question of existing socialism and democracy. Would you say that the gap that developed between democracy and socialism as practiced lies at the root of the present socialist crisis?

[Slovo] Yes. The gap you refer to occurred in a number of spheres. In the first place, there was a steady erosion of the powers and representative character of elected institutions. In practice the majority of the people had very few levers with which to determine the course of economic or social life.

Democracy in the mass organizations was also more formal than real. The enormous membership figures told us very little about the extent to which the individual



trade unionist, youth or woman was able to participate in the control or direction of their respective organizations.

At the end of the day these organizations were turned into transmission belts for decisions taken elsewhere. The trade union movement became an adjunct of the state and party.

Workers had no meaningful role in determining the composition of the top trade union leadership which was, in substance, answerable to the party apparatus. For all practical purposes the right to strike did not exist.

The extremely thin dividing line between management and the trade union collective on the factory floor detracted from the real autonomy of trade unions. Apart from certain welfare functions, they tended, more and more, to act like Western-style production councils, but without the advantage of having to answer for their role to an independent trade union under the democratic control of its membership.

The same erosion of democracy tended to occur within the party as well. In the immediate aftermath of the October revolution, the Bolshevik party shared power with other political and social tendencies, including Mensheviks and a section of the left Social Revolutionaries.

In the elections for the constituent assembly in 1918, the Bolsheviks received less than a third of the popular vote. Well, there may be moments in the life of a revolution which justify a postponement of full democratic processes.

I don't want to go into the complex question here of whether the Bolsheviks were justified in taking a monopoly of state power during the extraordinary period of both internal and external assault on the gains of the revolution. Suffice to say that the single-party state and the guiding and leading role of the party subsequently became a permanent feature of socialist rule and was entrenched in the constitutions of most socialist states. Henceforth the parties were 'vanguards' by law and not necessarily by virtue of social endorsement.

This was accompanied by negative transformations within the party itself. Under the guise of 'democratic centralism' inner-party democracy was almost completely suffocated by centralism. All effective power was concentrated in the hands of a political bureau or, in some cases, a single all-powerful personality.

The control of this 'leadership' by the party as a whole was purely formal. As a result of this the invigorating impact of the contest of ideas in Marxist culture was stifled.

You've already touched upon the question of the single-party state. Do you believe that a single-party system is compatible with democracy?

[Slovo] The concept of the single-party state is nowhere to be found in classical Marxist theory. Gorbachev recently made the point that developing the independent activity of the masses and promoting democracy under a one-party system is, and I quote, 'a noble but very difficult mission for the party'.

Personally, I think we have had sufficient experience of one-party rule in various parts of the world to perhaps conclude that the 'mission' to promote real democracy under a one-party system is not just difficult but, in the long run, impossible. But, in any case, where a single-party state is in place and there is not even democracy and accountability within the party, it becomes a shortcut to a political tyranny over the whole of society.

What impact has this lack of effective democracy had on the daily lives of workers in socialist countries?

[Slovo] The destruction of the political and economic power of capital are merely the first steps in the direction of overcoming the general sense of alienation experienced by workers under the capitalist system. The transfer of legal ownership of productive property from private capital to the state does not, on its own, create fully socialist relations of production, nor does it always significantly change the work-life of the producer.

The power to control the producer's work-life and dispose of the products of labor are now in the hands of a committee rather than a board of directors. And if the committee separates itself from the producers by a bureaucratic wall without democratic accountability, should we be surprised if its role is perceived no differently from that of the board of directors?

State property itself has to be transformed into social property. This involves reorganizing social life as a whole so that the producers, at least as a collective, have a real say not only in the production of social wealth but also in its disposal. What is required is not just formal but real socialization, so that the working people are the masters of all socialized production.

We've been looking mainly at the socialist countries. But what is the SACP's own record?

[Slovo] The commandist and bureaucratic approaches which took root during Stalin's time affected communist parties throughout the world, including our own. We cannot disclaim our share of the responsibility for the spread of the Stalinist cult and a mechanical embrace of Soviet domestic and foreign policies, some of which discredited the cause of socialism.

It would, of course, be naive to imagine that a movement can, at a stroke, shed all the mental baggage it has carried from the past. And our 7th Congress emphasized the need for on-going vigilance. It notes some isolated reverberations to the past, including attempts to engage in intrigue

and factional activity in fraternal organizations, secretarial attitudes towards some non-party colleagues, and sloganized dismissals of views which do not completely accord with ours.

Our party's critics are already suggesting that, in espousing greater democratization and openness, we are merely running true to form. We are, they allege, once more tailing after Moscow.

We do not pretend that our party's changing postures in the direction of democratic socialism are the results only of our own independent evolution. Our shift undoubtedly owes a prime debt to the process of perestroika and glasnost which was so courageously unleashed under Gorbachev's inspiration. And we must acknowledge another debt. Closer to home, the democratic spirit which dominated in the re-emerged trade union movement from the early seventies onwards also made its impact.

But we can legitimately claim that in certain fundamental respects our indigenous revolutionary practice long ago ceased to be guided by Stalinist concepts.

Does this apply to the SACP's conception of its vanguard role?

[Slovo] Yes, absolutely. We have always believed (and we continue to do so) that it is indispensable for the working class to have an independent political instrument which safeguards its role in the democratic revolution and which leads it towards an eventual classless society.

But, as our new programme asserts, such leadership must be won, not imposed. A communist party does not earn the title of vanguard merely by proclaiming it. However (and this is my point) the wording on this issue in the new Party programme comes more or less word for word from our central committee's 1970 report on organizations.

What kind of inner-party democracy is possible in an underground party like the SACP?

[Slovo] Well, there are inevitable limitations which illegality imposes. Despite this, the principles of accountability and electivity of all higher organs have been substantially adhered to. Seven underground congresses of our party have been held since 1953. The delegates to congress from the lower organs were elected without lists from above and always constituted a majority. The incoming central committees were elected by secret ballot without any form of direct or indirect 'guidance' to the delegates.

Our structures, down to the lowest units, have been increasingly encouraged to assess and question leadership pronouncements in a critical spirit and the views of the membership are invariably canvassed before finalizing basic policy documents.

What about SACP relations with fraternal and other organizations?

[Slovo] As I have already noted, one of the most serious casualties in the divide which developed between democracy and socialism was in the one-sided relationship between the ruling parties and the mass organizations. In order to prevent such a distortion in post-apartheid South Africa, we have, for example, set out in our draft Workers' Chapter that trade unions and their federation shall be completely independent and answerable only to the democratic decisions of their members or affiliates.

And we underline that no political party, state organ or enterprise, whether public or otherwise, shall directly or indirectly interfere with this independence.

The substance of this approach is reflected in the way our party has in fact conducted itself for most of its underground existence. We do not regard the trade union or the national movement as mere conduits for our policies. Our relationship with these organizations is based on complete respect for their independence, integrity and inner-democracy.

And you believe in a multi-party system for South Africa?

[Slovo] Experience has shown that an institutionalized one-party state has a strong propensity for authoritarianism. I believe that we must have a multi-party post-apartheid democracy both in the national democratic and socialist phases. If there is real democracy in the post-apartheid state, the way will be open for a peaceful progression towards our party's ultimate objective—a socialist South Africa.

Well, there is certainly no final word on these issues! But let me say with every confidence that the way forward for the whole of humanity lies within a socialist framework guided by genuine socialist humanitarianism and not within a capitalist system which entrenches economic and social inequalities as a way of life.

Socialism can undoubtedly be made to work without the negative practices which have distorted many of its key objectives. But mere faith in the future of socialism is not enough. The lessons of the past failures have to be learnt. Above all, we have to ensure that its fundamental tenet—socialist democracy—occupies a rightful place in all future practice.

#### \* New Constitution Needed To Save Economy

34000579A Cape Town CAPE TIMES in English  
13 Mar 90 p 6

[Article by Hans Middelmann, former president of Assocom and a leading businessman]

[Text] Boundless opportunities opened for South Africa with F W de Klerk's speech on February 2.



He promised to "our country and all its people...universal franchise; no domination; equality before an independent judiciary; the protection of minorities as well as of individual rights...", and, in more detail, "...a totally new and just constitutional dispensation in which every inhabitant will enjoy equal rights, treatment and opportunity in every sphere of endeavour—constitutional, social and economic."

It was a startling unilateral statement of intent of immense merit and was made firmly and sincerely. The world at large and most South Africans had waited for it a long time. In making it, the State President, in less than an hour, discarded four decades of ideological baggage which had brought the country to its present sad state of affairs.

### Visible Proof

Clearly, the aim now is to build one nation in a single South Africa. For this to succeed and for the nation to be at peace with itself and to prosper, it requires further great statesmanship by President De Klerk and his colleagues. It requires also that the currently voteless majority of the population can recognize the proposed new dispensation to be to their advantage. They must also experience soon, in practical and specific terms, the equality of opportunities in all spheres that should flow from making South Africa an open society.

Unbanning the ANC [African National Congress] and the lifting of press and other restrictions provided some immediate visible proof of the changing climate. Nelson Mandela's release strongly reinforced this impression as no other move could have done. And the amazing vitality with which he, a free man again after years of incarceration, responded positively and without malice to the challenges, augurs well for our future.

However, the events of the last few weeks have dealt with symptoms rather than with the substance of what is needed. By and large, what South Africans have experienced has come to them on the TV screen. It is still like watching chapter after chapter of an exciting television serial while wondering what comes next. The viewers can even identify with some of the events, particularly as they do not seem to affect their daily lives.

### Chicken and Egg

Right now, South Africans continue to battle with many acute problems. Lawlessness remains widespread, not only in Natal. The economy is in an almost no-growth situation and unemployment is growing.

Inflationary price rises are not matched by wage increases. (Only the parliamentarians easily overcame this handicap because, to their shame, even the gutless oppositions in the continuing tricameral system could not resist the temptation.)

Outside assistance can hardly be expected until the structure of the new South Africa is clarified and has the

support of the population at large. But, says the State President, "The new South Africa is possible only if it is bolstered by a sound and growing economy, with particular emphasis on the creation of employment."

So, if a new constitution is dependent on the economy, are we then in a true chicken and egg situation? Is it not that prosperity can only come to South Africa after we make the long overdue incisive political changes? It seems clear that any further delays in grappling with the fundamental details of the new constitution become increasingly costly in terms of political and economic frustrations.

### Nationalization

This is all the more so while many of the voteless majority in South Africa still believe that "taking over power", followed by the installation of a different "economic system", can resolve our problems. It is the result of years of rhetoric by those organizations that tried to act for the black masses who have neither political representation nor equal opportunities in their own country.

But, in the light of the history now being enacted elsewhere, the rhetoric of the ANC, MDM [Mass Democratic Movement], UDF [United Democratic Front] and others is changing. The lessons of the recent bloodless revolutions in Eastern Europe are not lost. After all, these came about because the ordinary people had realized that political structures, more than anything else, determine the level of prosperity in any country. The pseudo "democracies" of Eastern Europe and throughout Africa have paid a heavy price for having had one-party ideological self-perpetuating regimes in power for decades.

It is a pity, therefore, that the State President, in his famous speech containing his unilateral statement of intent, still hung on to the concept of protection of group rights and went no further than asking the law Commission to identify "the main types and models of democratic constitutions which deserve consideration in the aforementioned context". No wonder Nelson Mandela and his colleagues also hang on to "nationalization". Both believe that these are bargaining points in "negotiations".

### Namibia

There is, in fact, not much to "negotiate" about the essential terms of a truly democratic constitution. Namibia went through the whole process in a matter of months. Their constitution, which comes into force this month, could well serve as a model for us. It has real legitimacy because it followed free and fair elections in which all citizens took part as equals. Its crucial terms cannot easily be abused by one or the other group. They follow the lines of those democratic constitutions that have proved themselves in all the successful countries.

What South Africa needs now is a second "Rubicon speech", in which the government sets itself a "Resolution 435". This resolution would contain the proposed procedure and timetable to achieve what the State President set out as the aim on February 2. It would be another unilateral declaration of intent. The urgency is great if we are not to have a prolonged period of uncertainty with disastrous effects on the economy. The time is now.

**\* ANC Dissident Group Opposes Negotiations**

34000579B Johannesburg SOWETAN in English  
30 Mar 90 p 14

[Text] A faction of the Far Left of the black nationalist movement has come out against the ANC [African National Congress] decision to negotiate a compromise settlement with the South African government, labelling talks a "trap" for the organization.

The development may mean that just as the government has had to keep an eye on reaction from its Right-wing constituency, the ANC might have to now keep its eyes peeled for reaction from the growing constituency on its Left.

The dissident group, which calls itself the Marxist Workers Tendency [MWT] of the ANC, says any talks with the government that do not result in the immediate transfer of "real power" to the masses will be a betrayal of the struggle and a trap designed to emasculate the ANC and "bend and blunt the spearhead of the movement".

Its message is couched in traditional Marxist rhetoric and obviously aimed at the radical township youth who have recently come to the fore as being the main support base of the South African Communist Party and to the Left of the mainstream ANC leadership.

The ANC has dismissed the radical group as "four or five" fanatics based in London who have little influence within the organization.

An ANC spokesman in London said the group was allied to a group called the "Workers Tendency" expelled from the ANC in 1985.

In an open letter to Mandela which takes up the whole of an edition of "Congress Militant", a news-sheet put out by the group, the MWT says that "millions, young and old, would respond if you called them to action under the ANC flag..."

"But if you say freedom can be won through negotiations and compromise with the government, many will wait in hope.

We believe that will seriously harm the progress and unity of our Congress movement - and the fate of the country".

The MWT says the present government is not prepared to concede majority rule, or the immediate transfer of real power to the majority, and concludes that "the fight for majority rule is the only way to end group domination".

"The government's strategy has long been one of reforms from above to prevent revolution from below...and for this purpose he (FW de Klerk) is trying to entice into the government black leaders who enjoy the trust of the masses."

The group takes issue with Mandela's letter to then president P W Botha last year proposing negotiations, in which he says the issues to be resolved in talks are the black demand for majority rule in an unitary state and the concern of whites with this, allied to structural guarantees that majority rule will not mean black domination.

"How is it possible to reconcile structural guarantees for the whites with majority rule" the MWT asks, "the one directly contradicts the other".

It adds that any such guarantees would have to nullify the principle of one man one vote.

"A fundamental choice has to be made between revolutionary struggle and compromise" it concludes, "this is the reality and no words will hide it".

Instead it suggests that the ANC should "show a willingness to negotiate a peaceful end to white rule and the hand-over of power to the majority of people - so that everyone can see that the responsibility for the violence and suffering in the country lies fully with the government, the racists and the ruling class".

If the organization goes ahead, the MWT says that apart from the preconditions so far identified - the release of all political prisoners, end of the state of emergency, return of exiles and troops out of townships - it must insist on the following conditions:

- That the immediate transfer of real power to the majority be attainable through the negotiations.
- A constitutional assembly, elected on the basis of one man, one vote, be on the agenda.

During the election and meeting of that constituent assembly the following must apply:

- An immediate suspension of all segregation laws and the Labor Act.
- The equal right of all the people, irrespective of race, to bear arms for their own defence. The right of local people to form militias for defence purposes in all residential areas and of the trade unions to form workers defence guards in all industrial areas and on buses and trains.

The MWT says without these provisions there "could be no guarantee of a peaceful hand-over of power" and negotiations might become bogged down in "mere talk".

**\* Taiwan Navy Chief Denies Weapons Projects**

34000579C Johannesburg THE STAR in English  
27 Mar 90 p 13

[Article by Craig Kotze]

[Text] No weapons projects were being developed between the South African and Taiwanese navies, the chief of the Taiwanese navy said at Johannesburg's Jan Smuts Airport yesterday.

Admiral Yeh Chang Tung said before his departure for his homeland after a week-long visit to South Africa that his visit had no "practical military purpose".

"There are no weapons projects being developed between us but we have a lot to learn from each other.

"The South African Navy, although much smaller than our navy of 70,000 men, is highly sophisticated and its personnel are well-trained," said the Admiral.

He said he was in South Africa as the guest of the chief of the South African Navy, Admiral Dries Putter.

Admiral Yeh Chang said he had visited naval bases and installations during his stay. He had also made a trip to the Kruger Park.

The chief of the South African Navy naval staff, Vice-Admiral Chris Bennet, at the airport to see Admiral Yeh Chang off, said the South African Navy was not building a submarine as alleged recently in overseas reports.

**\* CP Accuses ANC of Destabilizing Homelands**

34999584A Pretoria PATRIOT in English  
23 Mar 90 p 14

[Commentary]

[Text] It is clear to even the most obtuse observer that the orchestrated campaign to stir unrest in the homelands can be laid at the door of the ANC [African National Congress].

The destruction of what could be recalcitrant power bases which are anti-ANC can clearly not be allowed to survive if the ANC wants to sit at the negotiation table "on an equal basis" with the NP [National Party] as has been stated on more than one occasion by ANC representatives.

The fact that the unrest in the TBVC [Transkei, Bophuthatswana, Venda, Ciskei] states started at the same time is clear evidence that a campaign of destabilization destined to put ANC puppets into power in those nations is the ANC's plan.

Few Black governments can resist uprisings based on terrorizing the local population. These campaigns can only be matched by terror, something which is clearly not palatable to some homeland leaders.

The ANC's denials that they are behind the campaign fall on deaf ears; their statement that unrest is also occurring in Kwa Zulu and Natal (which is not independent) holds no water. The Zulus are the only real obstacles to a complete ANC takeover (the ANC being largely Xhosa controlled), and Chief Buthelezi's power base must be destroyed. Gazankulu is also being destabilized because its leader Dr Hudson Ntsanwisi is not enamored enough of the ANC. Enos Mabusu of Kangwane is being left alone because he has come out openly in the past as an ANC supporter.

**Terror**

The use of terror tactics to accomplish political goals is a trump card for the ANC revolutionaries. While Mandela has been feted both here and abroad by liberals who refuse to make the mental quantum leap between what he says and what his cadres do, the comrades are busy taking over the townships by the use of tactics which are almost impossible to prevent unless similar tactics are used.

The use of terror is as old as Africa itself, and this continent's history is replete with the coming to power of tyrants who simply terrorized whole tribes into submission.

It would appear that nothing has change, and unless White South Africa can come up with an antidote to terror, it will not be long before the country is paralyzed through the use of terror in the townships and the workplaces.

Anyone who represents 'the system' is a target for terror, and when the thin line between government power and revolutionary power has been crossed in the minds of Blacks who are now working within the system, they will simply have to fall in line with the more powerful of the two systems. One cannot expect Blacks to be loyal to White South Africa's system when a gun is held to their heads or a panga is placed on their throats.

It is clear that the ANC intends to establish military bases in the independent and self-governing homelands when they are under the ANC's control and that this, coupled with their cadres in South Africa's industry and mines, will be the power base necessary to demand the surrender of the national Party to ANC rule.

By holding out on negotiations, the ANC is pushing the government into making more and more concessions in order to save face. Having put its eggs into the basket of "negotiations", the NP must now find someone with whom to negotiate.

**Verwoerd**

The press is being used to punt the line that "Verwoerdian" apartheid had failed, that the homelands system cannot survive.

Of course it cannot survive when the government allows ANC puppets to destabilize Black nationalists who committed themselves to the NP's policy of independence. A policy works if you make it work; it fails when you allow it to fail.

Press reports about corruption, nepotism and wasteful spending in South Africa's homelands are on every street corner, but corruption and nepotism are endemic to dozens of Third World countries, especially in Africa. One does not only find this type of thing in the Ciskei.

These "reasons" for the removal of homeland leaders are simply red herrings to mask the fact that the ANC will soon control the homelands, courtesy of the South African government who simply cannot be trusted to stand up to the ANC's march to power on the carpet of "world opinion".

**\* Conservative Party Calls Country 'Last Domino'**

34999584B Pretoria PATRIOT in English  
30 Mar 90 p 15

[Commentary]

[Text] The handover of power in Namibia to SWAPO [South West African People's Organization] by the South African [SA] government last week was a damp squib for, particularly, Mr F.W. de Klerk. Despite the hoopla and the international guest list, Mr de Klerk appeared dejected as the mobs cheered the lowering of the South African flag during the independence celebrations in Windhoek March 21.

The last post was drowned out by screams and ululating, and South Africa seemed to have been forgotten at one minute past midnight as the new president Sam Nujoma moved triumphantly through the crowds.

The run up to independence seemed very much like the Rhodesian scenario: the rejection of the Muzorewas and the DTA's [Democratic Turnhalle Alliance] for the Marxists by the international community and the leftist United Nations.

According to a recent article in Frontline, "the irony of SWAPO's victory is that from the day the first shots were fired in 1966, the South Africans never lost a battle. The SADF [South African Defense Force] won hands down. More than 12,000 SWAPO fighters died compared to about 800 South Africans."

As has been the case in so many instances since the Second World War, the West has lost against inferior forces because the moral standards of its Christian civilization cannot cope with the terror tactics used by sundry Third World guerrilla armies which sprung up with the help of the United Nations and lavish Soviet bloc funding.

**Koevoet**

In SWA [South-West Africa], the UN demanded that the South African forces disband Koevoet. We did this

without protest. We signed an agreement where our forces had to leave SWA while thousands of Cubans remained across the border in Angola. They could take two years to withdraw.

We even handed over R5 million of SA taxpayers' money for a celebration party attended by the likes of Yassar Arafat and other erstwhile terrorists. This was a particular slap in the face to those who lost sons in the war.

We allowed millions in funds to flow freely into SWA through church bank accounts, which money was channelled to SWAPO in the guise of "travelling and medical expenses". We permitted an internal wing of SWAPO to operate freely within SWA while the "external" wing was busy killing native South West Africans and South African soldiers.

Hundreds of SWAPO cadres were infiltrated into the country in the guise of refugees. "Thousands of weapons have been cached throughout the country" says Frontline. Military sources say that there has been a huge build up of armed SWAPO soldiers in Angola; the Soviet Union has given R1 billion in arms to Angola since the Namibian peace agreement. The Cuban troop withdrawal accomplished so far is probably a hoax; dark-skinned Cubans are being assimilated into the Angolan army.

**Kenyans**

According to reports, Untag's Kenyan contingent, deployed largely at Namibia's airports, has imported "709 81 mm mortars and more than 12,000 hand grenades, plus several anti-tank weapons and one million rifle and pistol bullets."

The Malaysian contingent has imported a large supply of explosives including 12,000 electric detonators, 11,000 non-electric detonators, 1,000 60 mm mortars and 396 heat-seeking RDS 84 mm rockets.

If Untag does not take all these fireworks with them when they are supposed to leave next month, SWAPO has a ready-made arsenal with which to grab power if it so wishes.

South Africa has been had. It has been deceived by those who have analyzed the SA government's pathetic desire to be acceptable to "the world"; we have trusted the untrustworthy and we have forgotten the paramount lesson in politics: a country has no friends, only interests.

The spotlight is now on South Africa, the last domino and the SA government has already decided that they will not be in power in ten years' time. They have mentally handed over to the ANC. It is up to those who are not prepared to cave in to take steps to stop them.

**\* National Party Losing Support in Johannesburg**

34000594C Johannesburg THE STAR in English  
3 Apr 90 p 21

[Article by Louise Burgers]



[Text] The NP [National Party] in the Johannesburg City Council is faced with a motion of no-confidence next week. In 18 months, the party's overall majority of 26 seats in the 51-seat council has dropped to 21 seats.

Since the death of the former chairman of the management committee, Mr Danie van Zyl, in April last year, the Nationalist Party in the Johannesburg City Council has been on a downhill course.

The Democratic Party [DP] on the other hand has gained strength, gaining two seats—from 18 to 20—and is set to take over the reins of the city.

The Nats returned from the October municipal elections triumphant, with 26 seats in the 51-seat council, the first time they had managed to achieve an outright majority.

After 18 months they are down to 21 seats and barely clinging to power. The Democratic Party has 20 seats, the Conservative Party four and the rest are independent.

Mr Dave Verster defected to the Democratic Party last May and the NP lost to the DP the Linden ward left vacant by Mr van Zyl's death. In the last month, Mr Mike Levin, Mr Howard Bloomberg and Mrs Desiree Simpson resigned from the party to sit as independents.

After recent setbacks, the NP could find itself on the opposition benches with a DP-independent coalition in power.

The Star's revelations of a spy network operating within the council prompted the DP to introduce the motion of no-confidence in the management committee, citing gross mismanagement.

The DP motion will be debated next Monday, two days before the Hiemstra Commission of Inquiry into the spy ring starts hearing evidence.

A DP-independent coalition was mooted three weeks ago as the NP appeared to be losing control of the city.

A few hours after the resignation of Mr Bloomberg and Mr Levin from the NP, the NP suffered another blow at the inauguration of the deputy mayor when they lost the seat of deputy mayor to the DP.

Mr Jan Burger was nominated for the position, but lost to the DP's Mr Elliot Kretzmer by one vote. His nomination was said to be a move by the pro-reform Nats to have Mrs Marietta Marx take over the chairmanship when Mr Burger was tied up with his duties as deputy mayor.

Allegations of interference from National Party cabinet members, tension between the more "verligte" pro-reform Nats and the older more conservative, long-serving members and "bad apples" in the caucus have been cited as reasons for the disunity in the party.

After Mr van Zyl's funeral, Johannesburg was plunged into a leadership crisis and a contest between deputy chairman Mr Jan Burger and newcomer Mrs Marx. Mr Jan Burger's win was seen as a victory for the NP "old guard" in the council/

But this was not the end of the tension within the NP. A few weeks later, a shock split surfaced in the NP caucus when Mrs Marx was ousted by Mr Ernie Fabel, fellow management committee member.

After a three-hour caucus meeting, which included tearful outbursts and heated exchanges, Mr Fabel resigned and Mrs Marx was reinstated.

Then resentment of interference in council affairs by parliamentary nationalist leaders in Johannesburg, Mr Pik Botha and Mr Roelf Meyer, began to surface. Mrs Marx's "hotline" to parliament was given as the reason for many disputes within the party and eventually led to the resignation of Mr Bloomberg and Mr Levin.

In the last six months of 1989 the hallowed halls of the civic center became likened to a monthly soap opera with counter claims of fraud and violence.

In the many stormy council meetings, insults flew, councilors staged walkouts and there was even a punch-up.

The crucial Johannesburg budget tabled in June last year, scraped through at 26 votes to 25.

The then leader of the DP in the city council, Mr Tony Leon, said that if a secret ballot had been allowed, the voting pattern might have been different. Indications were that some of the disillusioned NP councilors may have voted against the budget.

Chaos ensued in the following months as the management committee came under fire for its foreign VIP programme and lack of reform progress. It faced a barrage of questions from the opposition on its foreign guest programme and questions on the security department.

The council budgeted almost R1 million for its foreign visitors programme. The DP questioned the credibility of certain guests and why the ratepayer should foot the bill for jaunts around the country.

It was at the end of June last year when the DP's chief whip, Mr Paul Asherson, tabled questions regarding staff, activities and purchases in Mr John Pearce's Department of Public Safety.

The DP forced the June council meeting to an abrupt halt when they walked out because the NP withdrew an item on Pageview and free settlement areas.

Allegations of a split within the NP over an application to declare Pageview a free settlement area surfaced. The disagreement was believed to reach up to Cabinet level. Mr Burger admitted then that the decision to withdraw the item had nothing to do with the council.

## Madagascar

### \* Conditions Inside Antanimora Prison Described

90AF0065A Antanarivo MADAGASCAR TRIBUNE  
in French 21, 22 Mar 90

[Article by James Ramarosana on the Antanimora Prison]

[21 Mar 90 p 5]

#### Suffering at Antanimora

[Text] Henceforth, questions about prison administration, particularly, a prisoners' life, are no longer taboo.

With freedom of the press, and also the consent of Mr. Admond Razafindranaivo and Mr. Gabriel Ramamonjy, Chief of the Administrative Department, and Chief Warden of the Antanimora Central Prison, respectively, a team from MADAGASCAR TRIBUNE was able to make an inspection of this penitentiary.

An overall analysis of this inspection leads us to conclude that this establishment is facing grave problems despite efforts by the Chief Warden and his agents.

The Antanimora prison actually is one of the most crowded jails in the whole island. It houses the equivalent of all the prisoners of the Faritany of Antsiranana and of Toamasina.

At the beginning of independence Antanimora had only 640 prisoners, less than its housing capacity, which was about 800 prisoners. In 1975, the figure doubled to about 1,600. Currently with 4,800 prisoners, it houses about six times more. The increase in delinquency was greater than demographic growth.

However, the space and infrastructure did not follow this trend. In a way, that may explain the difficulties in attaining the prison objective of "reforming" the prisoners through a policy of re-education and social adaptation.

Here, the financial problem is more pressing than elsewhere. The prison is gravely short of funds for maintaining the prisoners. In brief, it is not managing a budget, but a crisis....

In order to fulfill their responsibility in such a situation, the persons in charge have, in one way or another, instituted a work system giving a certain responsibility to the prisoners themselves. True, this strategy creates a certain amount of self-discipline in the prisoners, but on the other hand it presents a weakness when leaders begin to exceed their authority. Nevertheless, the Chief Warden sees to it that there are no disturbances.

There is obvious overcrowding and sanitary conditions leave much to be desired despite the remarkable amount of aid received from charitable organizations, particularly through the office of the catholic chaplain.

It is time to create other buildings to relieve the congestion of the Antanimora Central Prison. If not, this overcrowding and lack of equipment will some day pose serious problems difficult to control. Tell me what your prison is like, and I will tell you who you are.... We shall go into further detail in our next edition.

[22 Mar 90 p 5]

#### Prison Life

[Text] Appalling beds stacked like lumber in a little room (five meters by 10 meters); clogged sewer pipes; young showoffs with shaved heads and haggard eyes dressed in their worn-out clothes; babies dressed in yellowed "sogas"; women with empty breasts. Such is a brief sketch of the Malgasy prison world.

It is not a nightmare, nor even a tragic scene from a cinema. We are simply reporting what we have seen with our own eyes during our brief "inspection" of the Antanimora prison.

True, four hours are not enough to judge a jail's environment, but that time opened our eyes to what a stay in prison is like.

We have no intention whatsoever of painting a black picture. The reality is there; it is horrible. "Unfortunately," life at Antanimora is somber.

Moreover, prisoners are in poor health, or more exactly, of a weak constitution. Let us qualify that, since certain "chiefs" (among the prisoners) are strong and, despite everything, seem to be in good form. Furthermore, we do not want to exaggerate matters, we are not in a concentration camp nor a gulag.

For lack of sufficient space, 106 prisoners are crammed into one room; 188 others live beside them. The toilets and showers are unspeakably filthy.

That is certainly one of the causes of disease at Antanimora. The persons in charge can do nothing to clean up the quarters, because of the lack of equipment and budgetary resources. Fortunately, the NGO's [nongovernmental organizations?] and other charitable organizations do help improve prisoners' "living conditions." For example, with only one doctor and a chief male nurse, one could never provide adequate medical care to the prisoners. Furthermore, essential medicines are lacking.

Nevertheless, the infirmary and the hospital seem fairly clean. True, the hospital has 12 beds, but no ventilation.

The catholic chaplain's office has succeeded in meeting some shortages by making a generous contribution in the field of health. Doctors and male and female nurses of this organization provide daily consultations with abnegation and enthusiasm. Dentists provided by the chaplain's office also provide their services two to three times a week.

On an average, 200 to 250 prisoners are seen each day. Most sicknesses due to this environment. Two-thirds of the patients have tuberculosis, almost all suffer from malaria and a good number of them have scabies.

There is also the danger that the plague, too, will strike the Antanimora inmates. On the eve of our visit one was infected, and in all three prisoners have been hit by the disease. Venereal diseases are rampant in the female prisoners' camp. However, pregnant women enjoy special benefits. There are now 15 pregnant women at Antanimora.

The situation is all the worse since "certain" prisoners pretend to be ill and, to the detriment of those who are really ill, prefer to be always hospitalized.

Such is the sad reality.

#### \* Political Scene Encourages 'Exile' To Return

90AF0063A Antananarivo MADAGASCAR TRIBUNE  
in French 21 Mar 90 p 3

[Letter to the editor by Alexis Bezaka: "Towards the Return of the 'Exiles'"; first two paragraphs are MADAGASCAR TRIBUNE introduction]

[Text] Following the gradual return to the political scene of the internal "exiles," now those who have lived abroad are giving some signs of life by announcing their intention to return to the country at last. Thus former minister Alexis Bezaka, who has spent some years in France, has just made a decision (a rather courageous one, given the economic crisis) to end his voluntary exile. The small colony of Malagasy political exiles will not be untouched by the current government's liberalization and policy of openness. Our young and fragile democracy could still be enriched if these politicians from elsewhere were to take an active role.

Before returning, Alexis Bezaka sent us a letter, a sort of profession of his faith, in which he announces "his" political return. Will he rejoin the big family of the Christian Democrats or that of the Social Democrats? In any event, he will have a lot to choose from.

On several occasions certain newspapers have spoken of the "comeback" of Malagasy opposition leaders from abroad.

In this regard my name has been cited several times and particularly the fact that I was never exiled by anyone.

It is a well-known fact that no law and no decree were issued banning me from Madagascar. I wish to make clear that in this regard the issue is Bezaka, Alexis [as published] as just an ordinary citizen. As regards the politician I have been and that I intend to remain, matters are a bit different.

I thought it would be useful to present my point of view on these issues.

I had been awaiting the publication of the ordinance promulgating the multiparty political system to do so.

Yes, I was forced into exile. If, as an ordinary citizen, I was not the object of a decree banning me from Madagascar, for 15 years the politician I was was banned from speaking, from engaging in political activity, and even from being eligible for any elective office. The 29 August 1976 ordinance practically, although indirectly, forced me to leave Madagascar. Because I no longer existed as a politician; so I decided to go where I could speak, where I could exist as a politician.

Now that liberty has returned, I return with it. I hope it will be possible for me to speak just like all the other politicians and, should the occasion arise, to be eligible for the same offices as they.

The Christian Democratic Party, which I represented uninterruptedly for 20 years in the big Christian Democratic world family, will be operational immediately.

I would like to use this opportunity to state that there is every reason to moralize over politics in our country. Politics must not be just a demonstration of force to crush the weak, a boxing ring, but it should instead be an act of love toward our fellow citizens, a charitable gesture. For this reason we should preach truth, justice, reconciliation, and peace.

**Truth:** Those who choose a career in public affairs must be true to themselves. We must not be afraid to look at ourselves, as in the mirror. We must not lie to ourselves or to our fellow citizens.

**Justice:** It is our duty to be just towards our fellow citizens. This is the main idea that, in our case, motivated the struggle for the independence of the country. We realized the Malagasy people was enduring too much injustice under colonization. Now we have independence; and justice! has it been rendered to the people? So there are still grounds for advocating that an effort be made to be just to our brothers.

**Reconciliation:** Today it is obvious that in the recent past many mistakes were made by many people. Actually, it is worse than that. We sinned against the country and against our fellow citizens. It is time to turn the page on a past full of things that cannot be mentioned or admitted. Should we persist in threatening one another or do we wish for reconciliation for a lasting peace, and the laying of the foundation for understanding, fraternity, and efficiency in all political, economic and social deeds? **Peace:** We therefore hope that the government is considering freeing political prisoners who are rotting away forgotten, in indifference, perhaps still hated. We need peace. It is in this spirit that I return to the country and that I would like to make my political return.

Truth, Justice, Reconciliation, and Peace.

**\* Andriamanjato Advocates Free Market Economy**

90AF0063B Antananarivo MADAGASCAR TRIBUNE  
in French 30 Mar 90 pp 1, 3

[Article by Franck Raharison: "Andriamanjato's Socialism Changes"; first paragraph is MADAGASCAR TRIBUNE introduction]

[Text] Inexorably our society is evolving (slowly) towards modernism and towards a bit more realism and pragmatism. At last the leader of the Congress Party for Malagasy Independence—Reform (AKFM—Renouveau) has understood what this change is. Better late than never! So yesterday at a rally Andriamanjato (photo, above) [not reproduced] stated that henceforth he is against nationalization. The reverend instead seems in favor of a market economy.

How long ago it was, the time when the heads of political parties openly preached hard-line revolution and socialism! Following the lead of Reverend Richard Andriamanjato, who changed ideological gears yesterday during a rally in Republic Square in Andohalo, our politicians appear to be trying to outdo one another since this liberalization.

The changes that have occurred in the countries of Eastern Europe were also bound to lead some to revise the credo, which had been in force up till now. For a politician who wants to go far, being sensitive to public opinion has become a necessity.

Of a new manifesto read yesterday by the head of AKFM—Renouveau, it must be observed that this party is in the process of turning its back on the socialism of the 70's and 80's. By diluting his wine with a great deal of water, Mr. Andriamanjato instead hopes to achieve a socialism with a rosy pink look, for his own party, at any rate.

In his speech in the historic square of Andohalo, in the very place from where Queen Ranaivalona promulgated the 305-article code on 29 March 1881, Reverend Andriamanjato wanted to appear nonthreatening in the eyes of Malagasy businessmen as well as international investors.

Indeed, to somewhat general surprise, Mr. Richard Andriamanjato stated that the socialism that should be established in Madagascar should, in some way, have a human face. "It will be a socialism which can defend the widow and the orphan," he said. And he added that henceforth we should respect if not protect the activities and the property of private producers. In other words, AKFM—Renouveau wants to be in the forefront of defending the country's middle and upper classes which invest in the development of the economy. In the same vein, Mr. Andriamanjato went on to state that there would be no more nationalizations of companies or businesses belonging to Malagasy or foreigners. When it comes to perestroika, you cannot do any better!

Furthermore the head of AKFM—Renouveau wants to be the "champion" of liberalism in Madagascar by emphasizing that public enterprises should have private management. According to Reverend Andriamanjato, given the current economic picture, state-owned enterprises should take market competition into account or, more precisely, adapt to the law of supply and demand.

In the light of the reverend's remarks yesterday, we see that the Grand Island's political environment never stops changing; inexorably our society is evolving towards modernism and towards a bit more realism and pragmatism. It is a pity the politicians took more than a decade to realize it.

**\* Rebirth of PSD, Resampa Makes Demands**

90AF0063C Antananarivo MADAGASCAR TRIBUNE  
in French 24 Mar 90 p 3

[Article signed "RJA": "Andre Resampa Calls for the Release of Richard Andriamaholison and a Return to the Franc Zone"]

[Text] Yesterday in the Tranompokonolona of Isotry, at the general constituent assembly of the Social Democratic Party (PSD), Mr. Andre Resampa was elected by acclamation to the post of secretary general of the party founded in 1957 by Mr. Philibert Tsiranana. In fact this auditorium proved too small to accommodate the crowd of sympathizers and the curious who had come to witness the "renaissance" of this political organization which had hibernated for 18 years for reasons with which people are acquainted. One of these (as if people needed to be reminded?) was the fall of the government in which the party had been in the majority.

After this election by acclamation, Mr. Andre Resampa took the floor first to greet his supporters who had come from the six provinces and also to thank them for a spirit of self-sacrifice equaled only by their militancy.

As proof of this, the attendees at this constituent meeting paid for their transportation to Antananarivo themselves. "Today we meet to work together on the rebirth of the PSD. It was forced into silence. Even its property was confiscated. This is totally unworthy of a party which had done so much for the country, in particular its achieving of independence in 1960." In this context, the PSD clearly wants to compel fate though not repeat history.

And the secretary general went on to draw a comparison between public life before 1972 and today by reminding the meeting of the experience acquired by the PSD and its government. With regard to cattle thefts, Mr. Resampa proposed exiling convicted thieves to Nosy Lava so they would never see their families again. "That's the only thing they're afraid of," he said, "they don't give a damn about the rest." And he criticized a certain air of carelessness which only fuels these anti-economic practices: by not locking up cattle thieves, others might have been allowed to return home for a visit, etc. He also



called for an end to corruption in every form, particularly corruption among civil servants who do serious injury to the interests of the little people and peasants. The same thing is true of diversions of public funds and other crimes against the nation: stealing school examination questions and stealing medicine from hospitals.

And, further, what is there to be said about certain directors general of some state-owned companies who have failed brilliantly? They should at least explain why the companies they ran failed, in the view of Mr. Andre Resampa.

With regard to the justice system, Mr. Resampa asked that "magistrates on the bench" not be the subject of complaints from politicians: "The aim of this is to maintain the total independence of the judiciary," he said, adding that it was crazy to think that those [in the judiciary] who were afraid of losing their positions would not hesitate to "be a yes-man opposed to the general interest."

In the second half of his remarks, the PSD's secretary general called for the convening "of a national conference at which the political parties and the nation's leading lights would discuss public affairs so as to save this country which is adrift."

"This national conference," he said, "will be chaired by the chief of state and will have as its task, among other things, studying a total redrafting of the constitution and the electoral code. Half-measures are no longer in fashion."

Returning to the subject of the constitution, he expressed his wish to see a true separation of powers. "Those of the prime minister should be expanded," he continued, "so he could become more familiar with national life and act in consequence thereof."

"This will be a joint effort for mutual understanding, for mutual respect, and a search to find the ways and means which would lead to genuine recovery."

On another subject, Resampa deplored the constant devaluation of the franc Malgache and made a counter-proposal for a future return to the franc zone. "To do this we would need to gather information from certain African countries which have chosen to remain in the franc zone. Are they right? Are they wrong? Our decision will be made on the basis of the results of our research." (Thunderous applause in the auditorium.)

After his speech, responding to a question from a teacher, Mr. Resampa suggested the need to grant amnesties to political prisoners, Commandant Richard Andriamaholison among them. "What is at stake is national reconciliation, a token of the success of genuine recovery," he said. Above all, the wind of change is everywhere in the world. Our country will benefit from it. In response to another question about the murder of Colonel Ratsimandrava, Mr. Resampa said it would be difficult to reopen a "closed case."

Finally we should note that the same general constituent assembly also elected Executive Board members.

#### Executive Board Members

Secretary General: Andre Resampa

Deputy Secretaries General: Alphonse Zafisambatra, Rembey Fetsoa, Pierre Tsiranana, Jonarivelo, Bejoma Imbe, Evariste Marson, Justin Randrianasolo, Ratafika, Mrs Andriantsarafara, Daniel Ralaivelo, Albert Lanona, Desire Paul, Roger Rakotomalala, and Charles Raoninarivo

General Treasurer: Constance Razafimily

Deputy General Treasurer: Roger Rafanomezana

National Administrative Secretaries: Fulgence R., Theodule.

In addition to these Executive Board members, 17 national advisors were also elected yesterday at the general constituent assembly at the "Trano" in Isotry.

#### \* \$48 Million From World Bank for Private Sector

90AF0063D Antananarivo MADAGASCAR TRIBUNE  
in French 27 Mar 90 p 3

[Article by Franck Raharison: "The Democratic Republic of Madagascar and the World Bank: Billions for Private Businesses"]

[Text] More than 73,000,000,000 francs Malgaches; a string of zeroes, an ocean of centimes, hundreds of dreams and projects that could be realized; the World Bank has just injected not an oxygen tank but an oxygen boat into the Malagasy private sector. This is a sector which is still in shock, traumatized by a long, a very long crisis. In light of this APEX [Industrial Restructuring Fund?] credit, the "tunnel" will certainly be less dark for local entrepreneurs and, according to Jose Bronfman, the permanent representative of the World Bank, these 73 billion francs Malgaches (\$48 million) represent an accompanying measure for the private sector. It is a "measure" that would be on a level with the ambitions of one and all.

We should remind readers that last year this credit led to bickering among economic groups and associations because at that time it was supposed to be administered by a nongovernmental organization (NGO). We remember the standoff between the GEM [expansion unknown] and the defunct ERE [expansion unknown] of the small and medium-size industries. Now may the APEX be with you!

In fact it has fallen to the central bank and other financial institutions to administer this International Development Association (IDA) credit. In other words, the central bank will release funds as it receives requests

which originate from the primary banks (BMOI [expansion unknown], the National Bank for Industrial Development [BNI], the Banky Fampandrosoana ny Varotra [BFV], and the National Bank for Rural Development [BTM]) at an interest rate of 12 percent. These banks will make loans to those interested at a rate of interest not to exceed 19 percent; it is in this very area that competition should emerge between the four banks mentioned above. In many ways, this line of credit somewhat resembles earlier lines (CASI, CASA, CASPIC [expansions unknown], etc.) and other traditional credit though there will be no exchange risk and the loans will have to be paid back in two to 12 years with a [possible] three-year delay, not to mention an adjustable interest rate (12 to 19 percent). We should mention that the maximum on each loan is \$4 million.

We should emphasize that of these \$48 million, \$3 million have been set aside for "technical assistance and training." So, according to Mr. Jose Bronfman, credit will go towards the restructure of the Chamber of Commerce, with the help of the GEM, FIV.MPA.MA [expansion unknown], and the Ministry of Commerce. In addition, the Junior Economic Chamber (JCE) will receive the sum of \$50,000 to undertake a "motivational campaign" in the media. The JCE will also have the task of organizing foreign study grants for businessmen as part of a promotion of small and medium-sized businesses and industries; to this end, \$200,000 have been allocated. In addition, \$13,500 worth of credit will go to help those intending to submit applications and \$640,000 are to go to give technical assistance to small and medium-sized businesses and industries; these monies will be entrusted to an office reporting to the Ministry of Finance and Economy.

Mr. Jose Bronfman also stated yesterday that various projects are under way such as an environmental project (\$23 million) and the "Tana Plain" project (\$30 million).

To return to these 73 billion francs Malgaches, such a figure, which will swell the money supply, runs the strong risk of increasing the rate of inflation, a backwards step which the appropriate authorities will need to control.

## Mauritius

### \* Kowlessur on Police Operations, Policy

90AF0072A Port Louis LE MAURICIEN in French  
9 Apr 90 p 6

[Report on LE MAURICIEN interview with Police Commissioner Mr. Bhimsen Kowlessur by Harish Chundasing: "Police Commissioner Mr. Bhimsen Kowlessur Opposes a /Police Complaint Authority/"; date and place not given; first paragraph is LE MAURICIEN introduction; passages in slantlines published in English]

[Text] Mr. Bhimsen Kowlessur, Police Commissioner, opposes the idea of creating a /Police Complaint Authority/ to investigate cases of police brutality or abuses. He stated this to us in an interview granted to LE MAURICIEN.

[LE MAURICIEN] Mr. Kowlessur, the press has recently reported several cases of police brutality. Do you favor the creation of a /Police Complaint Authority/ such as the one existing in Great Britain?

[Kowlessur] No. We already have an existing structure in Mauritius for investigating any complaints against the police. The results of the investigation are presented to the public prosecutor's office for examination and decision. If, despite that, members of the public feel their rights have been violated they can always call on the Ombudsman, whose independence is guaranteed by the Constitution.

Freedom of expression exists at all levels. The people are not gagged in Mauritius. That is an advantage for us.

[LE MAURICIEN] The frequent explanations by the /Police Press Officer/ [PPO] betray a certain arrogance. Are the Mauritian police arrogant?

[Kowlessur] Listen. As in any institution, we use our right of response to clarify the facts and inform the public of the real situation. Perhaps the official language used by the PPO creates that impression. But, believe me, we are good guys.

[LE MAURICIEN] This week the /National Coast Guard/ celebrated its sixteenth anniversary. How can anyone explain that no Mauritian officer has yet been able to take over from the Indian contractors at the post of command?

[Kowlessur] The colonial heritage was such that our people developed primarily an "earthly" vocation. Only recently have members of the forces begun to show interest in the air and the sea. We are currently preparing a plan to develop the aptitudes of our young recruits as pilots for our helicopters and our patrol boats.

[LE MAURICIEN] What is the situation with respect to your computer projects for certain sectors, such as the Immigration and the /Crime Records Office/?

[Kowlessur] Things are moving rapidly. We shall soon be in the computer era.

[LE MAURICIEN] What is the situation concerning your project for making direct fines?

[Kowlessur] The project is coming along well.

[LE MAURICIEN] Do you not think such a system could give rise to abuses?

[Kowlessur] If there are going to be abuses, there will be them. The temptation is always there. Of course, we have

planned protective devices. It will be up to members of the public to report abuses. We are here to investigate them.

[LE MAURICIEN] Are drug abuse and crime increasing?

[Kowlessur] Definitely not. As I have already said, certain gangs spring up from time to time, but they are quickly eliminated.

[LE MAURICIEN] There is the impression that the /Special Mobile Force/ [SMF] is a separate entity from the police force.

[Kowlessur] That is a false impression. The SMF is an integral part of the police force.

## Mozambique

### Government Makes Contacts on Peace Talks

MB0205202490 Maputo Domestic Service in Portuguese  
1900 GMT 2 May 90

[Text] A source with the Presidency of the Republic has told the Mozambique Experimental Television that Maputo today contacted several capitals involved with and interested in Mozambique's peace process. The source did not give details about the contacts, but described them as positive.

The source confirmed that President Joaquim Chissano today received Mozambique Government envoys who had been instructed to arrange a preliminary meeting with Renamo [Mozambique National Resistance].

Speaking at a rally in Maputo on the occasion of May Day, President Chissano said that the Mozambican Government did not want to waste time, and that it is necessary to hold direct talks with Renamo without mediators.

### Swazi Prime Minister, Delegation Arrive 2 May

MB0205161590 Maputo Domestic Service in Portuguese  
1600 GMT 2 May 90

[Text] Swazi Prime Minister Obed Dlamini arrived in Maputo this afternoon on a four-day official visit to Mozambique. He was welcomed at Maputo International Airport by his Mozambican counterpart Mario Machungo, Security Minister Mariano Matsinhe, and other government cadres.

The Swazi prime minister is accompanied by Mrs. Dlamini; Foreign Affairs Minister George Mamba; Timothy Zwane, principal secretary in the Ministry of Trade, Industry, and Tourism; and other officials.

### Discusses Economic Cooperation

MB0305090690 Mbabane THE TIMES OF  
SWAZILAND in English 3 May 90 p 1

[By Donnie Nxumalo]

[Text] Prime Minister, Mr Obed Dlamini yesterday paid tribute to Mozambique for allowing the Kingdom to use Mozambican rail-lines and ports to export to overseas markets.

The Prime Minister was speaking in Maputo last night, where he and his 14-man delegation are guests of the Government of Mozambique.

Mr Dlamini told the Prime Minister of Mozambique, Dr Mario Machungo: "Your Excellency, the government and the people of Swaziland are deeply thankful to their Mozambican brothers and sisters for the excellent spirit of economic co-operation currently existing between our two countries.

"We are indeed most grateful to this country for the valuable road and rail links as well as for allowing us to continue to use your port facilities to reach our overseas export markets.

"We are equally appreciative of the active and positive role played by the People's Republic of Mozambique in promoting the aims and objectives of our regional development organisation, SADCC [South African Development Coordination Conference]. The impressive achievements of SADCC's transport commission here in Maputo are indeed a shining example of what developing nations could accomplish through joint efforts and economic development.

"I also believe, Your Excellency, that there are still many other areas of fruitful economic co-operation which our two countries can successfully identify.

### Begins Official Talks

MB0305142890 Maputo Domestic Service in Portuguese  
1030 GMT 3 May 90

[Text] Government delegations from Mozambique and Swaziland began official talks in Maputo this morning.

The talks are part of the Swazi prime minister's visit to Mozambique, which began yesterday at the invitation of his Mozambican counterpart, Mario Machungo.

Our colleague Gabriel Mussavele gives us further details on the talks:

[Begin Mussavele recording] The two countries' delegations, led by the respective prime ministers, will assess the current state of cooperation between Mozambique and Swaziland.

The Mozambican prime minister pointed out that relations of friendship and cooperation between the two

neighboring countries gained a new impetus toward the end of last year when Swaziland's King Mswati III visited our country.

Prime Minister Mario Machungo told the opening session of the talks that the two sides will exchange views on developments in southern Africa, particularly the internal political situation in the respective countries.

Mario Machungo reiterated the Mozambican Government's gratitude to the Government of Swaziland for the assistance it renders to thousands of Mozambicans who have sought refuge in that country because of war in Mozambique.

In turn, Swazi Prime Minister Obed Dlamini said that his country will continue to assist Mozambique even if the current war that is devastating the country goes on for the next 100 years. He added that the talks constitute an opportunity for the two countries to reinforce definitely the traditional ties of friendship and cooperation.

The Swazi prime minister said his country is interested in reinforcing the level of cooperation between the two SADCC [Southern African Development Coordination Conference] member countries, particularly on telecommunications. He said the meeting should enable the two countries to find new cooperation fronts, particularly in the economic field.

Before the start of the talks, the Swazi prime minister, who has been in Mozambique since yesterday, laid a wreath at the Mozambican Heroes Monument.

He will visit Maputo and Matola ports this afternoon. [end recording]

#### **Wants To Strengthen Ties**

*MB0305174190 Mbabane Domestic Service in English  
1600 GMT 3 May 90*

[Text] The Prime Minister Mr. Obed Dlamini says Mozambique and Swaziland need to strengthen the already existing cooperation between the two countries in order to improve their economies.

Speaking at the beginning of bilateral talks in Maputo today, Mr. Dlamini said the two countries have an unavoidable task to see to it that their economies grow from where they were during the colonial days. The prime minister said Swaziland will always support Mozambique in its effort to bring the peace that is currently severed by the banditry war.

On the political changes taking place in South Africa, Mr. Dlamini said Swaziland is taking special interest since, like Mozambique, it needs South Africa as a trade partner.

According to Swaziland Broadcasting Service Information Officer Mr. Jerome Dlamini, who left with the delegation yesterday, talks continued behind closed

doors after the official opening. The Mozambican delegation includes ministries such as security, trade, construction, and water.

In the morning, the prime minister went to Heroes' Square to lay a wreath, which consisted of military honors.

#### **Meets With Machungo 2 May**

*MB0305175490 Mbabane Television Service in English  
1630 GMT 3 May 90*

[Text] The Mozambican Prime Minister Mr. Mario Machungo yesterday said his country regards with pride relations of friendship and solidarity between Mozambique and Swaziland. Mr. Machungo was addressing a dinner yesterday hosted in honor of the prime minister, Mr. Obed Dlamini, who is currently in Mozambique on a three-day visit.

Mr. Machungo said the Swazi people clearly demonstrated their support for and solidarity with the Mozambican people during Mozambique's national liberation struggle. Mr. Machungo also thanked Swaziland for giving asylum to Mozambican refugees. The Mozambican prime minister also turned back the hands of time to the decisive role played by His Majesty King Sobhuza II and the late President Samora Machel in strengthening the relations between the two countries.

Mr. Machungo said the Mozambican people regard with great importance the visit of His Majesty King Mswati III to Mozambique last year. He said the king's visit and that of the prime minister are a desire to deepen relations and cooperation between the two countries.

The Mozambican prime minister also showed great appreciation of the changes in southern Africa. He commended Namibia for her diligence in her struggle to attain independence. About the changes in South Africa, Mr. Machungo approved of the negotiations between the South African Government and the African National Congress and also urged the international community not to reduce its efforts for the total eradication of apartheid, because, he said, the essence of the regime remains. He said Mozambique is making every effort to bring peace to the country. He said the president, Mr. Joaquim Chissano, has made efforts for negotiations with the Renamo [Mozambique National Resistance] movement, which will be mediated by Zimbabwe's president, Mr. Robert Mugabe, and President arap Moi, of Kenya.

Mr. Machungo attached great importance to the two countries' membership in SADCC [Southern African Development Coordination Conference] and the PTA [Preferential Trade Area]. He said it was of fundamental importance for the development of both countries.



**Mocumbi To Meet Zimbabwe's Shamuyarira in Beira**

*MB0305185990 Maputo Domestic Service in Portuguese  
1730 GMT 3 May 90*

[Text] Zimbabwean Foreign Minister Nathan Shamuyarira left for Beira city today for talks with Pascoal Mocumbi, his Mozambican counterpart. This is the third regular meeting between Mozambique and Zimbabwe. Pascoal Mocumbi began a working visit to Sofala Province on 1 May.

**Begins Opening Session**

*MB0405071990 Maputo Domestic Service in Portuguese  
0500 GMT 4 May 90*

[Text] Foreign Ministers Pascoal Mocumbi of Mozambique and Nathan Shamuyarira of Zimbabwe will today visit the Beira corridor projects.

At the opening session of talks between the two leaders in Beira city, Minister Mocumbi expressed his satisfaction with Zimbabwe's assistance to our country.

**Polish Official Pledges Continued Assistance**

*MB0405072690 Maputo in English to Southern Africa  
1800 GMT 3 May 90*

[Text] The Polish charge d'affaires in Mozambique, Mr. (Shaduski), has said at a news conference in Maputo that the new Polish Government will continue to support Mozambique in its efforts to bring about peace and reconstruct the country. He said Poland supported Mozambique's peace initiatives and wished to see peace prevail because the Polish people knew the horrors of war, having experienced Nazi aggression and occupation. Mr. (Shaduski) was speaking on the occasion of Poland's national day.

The Polish diplomat said the war of aggression against Mozambique was hindering smooth cooperation between the two countries.

Defending Poland's Solidarity-led government, Mr. (Shaduski) said Poland was now showing signs of economic recovery. He said the six-month-old government of Prime Minister Tadeusz Mazowiecki is engaged in liquidating the heritage of Stalinism, especially in the economy.

He said that among the government's top priorities are ending the economic crisis, combatting (?superinflation), and improving the consumer goods market.

**Government Forces Recapture Chigubo 22 Apr**

*MB0305190990 Maputo Domestic Service in Portuguese  
1730 GMT 3 May 90*

[Text] Reports just in say Mozambican Armed Forces [FAM] on 22 April recaptured Chigubo District headquarters, Gaza Province.

The region had been under armed bandit influence since November 1987.

The retaking of Chigubo District headquarters was part of FAM's sweeping operations against the terrorists.

Lieutenant General Antonio Hama Thai, armed forces chief of general staff, today visited the area to assess work to restore infrastructures destroyed by the criminals.

Residents have begun to return to Chigubo District headquarters.

Lt. Gen. Antonio Hama Thai told a brief meeting of the residents that he was pleased with the way life is returning to normal. He praised the residents for cooperating with FAM in the fight against armed bandits.

**\* Portuguese Industrial Cooperation Announced**

*90AF0037B Maputo NOTICIAS in Portuguese  
6 Mar 90 p 1*

[Text] This week the Portuguese and Mozambican governments are going to establish new programs for industrial cooperation, according to information released Wednesday in Porto by Antonio Branco, Mozambique's minister of industry and energy, and quoted by LUSA.

According to our information source, the Mozambican minister spoke at the conclusion of a meeting which he held with northern businessmen and managerial people from the Industrial Association of Porto.

According to Antonio Branco, operating within the framework of the new intergovernmental programs, Portugal is to cooperate with Mozambique in the establishment of quality systems, engineering mechanisms relating to finance, institutions aimed at supporting small and medium businesses, and organizations for the training of skilled labor.

The new programs are a follow-up to those established in September 1989 when Cavaco Silva, Portugal's prime minister, visited Mozambique.

Wednesday, Antonio Branco's delegation, which included a number of Mozambican businessmen, visited various companies in northern Portugal.

According to the Mozambican minister, the objective of the visit is to broaden the participation of Mozambican companies in Mozambican industry and promote new investments.

"Every year the number of investments proposed in Mozambique increases," said Antonio Branco, with the most interested countries being Portuguese, South African, English, Nordic, and Italian.

At the same time, Ludgero Marques, president of Aipor-tuense, pointed out that "this is a unique opportunity to invest in Mozambique in view of the conditions which the Mozambican Government is currently offering.

"We cannot wait to be given a total green light," asserted Ludgero, who believes that "Mozambique is already eager to receive Portuguese investments."

The president of Aiportuense went on to say that a trade mission is already scheduling a visit to Mozambique and this is to be preceded in April by an introductory technical mission.

#### \* Machungo Speaks on Land Distribution

90AF0037C Maputo NOTICIAS in Portuguese  
5 Mar 90 p 1

[Text] Prime Minister Mario Machungo asserted that we need a carefully prepared plan for the use and distribution of land on the part of the peasants in order to overcome the current problems, particularly in the general Maputo area where certain individuals or groups are increasingly taking illegal possession of random parcels. The prime minister spoke last Saturday at a session of the General Assembly of the Union of Agricultural Cooperatives of Maputo [UCAM], held in the district of Bagamoyo.

Machungo made this observation in response to denunciations in which certain cooperatives expressed indignation over the fact that some of their cultivated land was being taken over by individuals having no plausible explanation.

The prime minister asserted that it was urgent to deliver the proper deeds to the land being worked by the peasants and added that a legal organization should be set up for that purpose.

He said that "there are regulations regarding the use of land and that the privilege is being abused without justification. There is no reason to squabble over land, since the country has extensive areas which are available. What is happening at this time is purely a matter of disorganization."

As an example of disorganization, the prime minister cited the fact that an increasing quantity of land is being used by the peasants for construction purposes instead of cultivation and vice versa.

"To avoid this type of situation, it is necessary for organizations like the Executive Council to talk with the peasants, explaining the nature of the irregularities they are committing and warning them that their activity in those areas could be short-lived," said Machungo.

#### Solution to the Problems Urgently Needed

On this occasion, Mario Machungo said that the problems outlined by the cooperatives relating to the take-over of land need a just and immediate solution within legal means, since in that manner we can help avoid any conflict we might otherwise have with bureaucracy, illegal operations, arrogance, abuse of power, and opportunism.

"The solution to those problems does not mean replacing evil for evil but rather the assurance that the law will be equally applied to everyone and receive universal respect," said the government leader.

The official then praised the courage of the peasants in denouncing the irregularities called to their attention and encouraged them to submit any such problems to the competent organizations, such as the Ministry of Agriculture, the Attorney General of the Republic, and the People's Assembly Permanent Commission [CPAP], for the immediate resolution of the same.

"If the peasants' denunciation is justified, the proper authorities will make sure that the laws regarding the take-over and utilization of land are fully respected," he said.

Again responding to the concern expressed by the peasants, the prime minister said that the aforementioned problems should be analyzed case by case with coherent witnesses testifying on behalf of justice.

Machungo ordered the establishment of brigades to verify the contentions of the peasants regarding the aforementioned problems for subsequent submission to the legal entities.

#### \* Pemba Airport Expansion Enters First Phase

90AF0037D Maputo NOTICIAS in Portuguese  
8 Mar 90 p 8

[Text] According to information issued by Radio Mozambique [RM], Armando Guebuza, minister of transport and telecommunications, accompanied by Antonio Simbine, governor of Cabo Delgado Province, laid the cornerstone of a project involving improvement and expansion of the Pemba airport.

According to the same radio station, this construction project, valued at 210,000 contos, will be carried out by Empasol, a Portuguese construction firm, within 6 months.

Of the sum to be spent in the improvement and expansion of the Pemba airport, 150 meticals were made available by the provincial government and the remaining 60,000 contos by Aeroportos de Mozambique.

It should be mentioned that the head of the Ministry of Transport and Telecommunications laid the cornerstone of the project involving the improvement and expansion of the Pemba airport during a visit he made to Cabo Delgado Province.

Just yesterday, the Mozambican official paid a visit to Nampula Province while en route to Nacala, whence he will make a number of side trips throughout the country.

While in Nacala, Armando Guebuza visited the port as well as the trunk line connecting the Nacala-Entre-Lagos

railway, another construction project to be initiated in the near future for restoration purposes.

### \* British Firms To Explore for Diatomites

90AF0037F Maputo NOTICIAS in Portuguese  
6 Mar 90 p 8

[Text] The Mozambican Government has just signed an agreement with two British companies for the prospecting, research, development, and mining exploration of diatomites in the Manhica area, Maputo Province, in the south of Mozambique.

Diatomites, which result from the fossilization of micellar organisms, are a mineral with broad application as a filtering element in the production of beer, wine, and other beverages. The mineral also has application in general chemistry.

A press notice sent Saturday to the Mozambique Information Agency by the National Directorate of Mines [DNM] indicates that Mozambique will participate with 20 percent of the shares and the two foreign firms with 40 percent each.

The two British companies are Cluff Oil Ltd. and Rockwood Holdings Ltd.

The operations of these firms are to be under way in April of this year, with Cluff handling the technical management of the project and Rockwood the area's security measures and other services.

The ceremony formalizing the signing of the contract took place on 19 February with the participation of John Kachamila, minister of mineral resources, and Geraldine Ford, British ambassador in Maputo, representing the two foreign companies.

## Zimbabwe

### Mugabe Urges Constitutional Land Changes

MB0305113990 Johannesburg THE STAR in English  
3 May 90 p 10

[By Robin Drew]

[Text] Harare—President Mugabe has wasted no time in taking steps to amend the Declaration of Rights now that the constraints imposed under the Lancaster House Constitution have fallen away with the expiry of the 10-year period in which the Government was effectively prevented from tampering with fundamental rights and freedoms.

He announced at the formal opening yesterday of the first session of the new single-chamber parliament that restrictive provisions in the Declaration of Rights as they relate to property rights and in particular to land are to be removed under a Bill to amend the constitution.

This is being done to enable the government to distribute land more equitably and speedily.

This move was foreshadowed during the election campaign when Mr Mugabe promised to give peasant farmers more land which would be taken away from commercial farmers, mainly white, with large holdings.

He indicated then that while compensation would be paid, the constitutional requirement that this be done promptly could be deleted.

However President Mugabe made no reference in his speech to the issue which has generated even more heat in Zimbabwe, that of the one-party state which he favours.

The introduction of such a move would also require changes to the Declaration of Rights which specifically provides for the right to form political parties.

Mr Mugabe said the first 10 years of independence had been years of achievement and progress with the highlights being the achievement of national unity and the transformation of the social and economic environment. On South Africa, he said: "My government, alongside other members of the frontline states under the auspices of the OAU, will continue to give moral, material and political support to the liberation struggle being waged in South Africa.

"In that regard therefore government welcomes the release of some South African leaders including Nelson Mandela. However we will still call on the international community to continue to put pressure on the South African regime so that total freedom and democracy can be achieved in that country."

### Mugabe Addresses Parliament on Housing Shortage

MB0305143090 Johannesburg International Service  
in English 1100 GMT 3 May 90

[Text] President Robert Mugabe of Zimbabwe says his government is to build more than 8,000 houses in resettlement areas and villages during the 1990-91 financial year to ease the housing shortage in rural areas.

Addressing Parliament, in Harare, President Mugabe said that the government would establish a national housing corporation to deal with the production of building materials.

### \* Steel, Pipe Company Issue Involves Nkomo

34000516A Harare THE FINANCIAL GAZETTE  
in English 30 Mar 90 p 1

[Excerpt] Conflicting political forces at play have been identified as the root cause of the continuing Industrial Steel and Pipe (ISP) saga.

FINANCIAL GAZETTE investigations uncovered this week that a serious bid for the \$100m company has been taking place, involving the Development Trust of Zimbabwe [DTZ], chaired by Dr Joshua Nkomo.

Investigations into the turmoil at the company included an interview with the top executives of the company—

former executive chairman, Mr Anthony Ndoro, senior general manager, Mr Goodson Nguni, and group personnel manager, Ms Mercy Dikito.

The former ISP executives, describing the government report on the company as grossly inaccurate and totally biased, particularly where it relates to salary payments and their alleged incompetence, also question the validity of the report in tot, and the credentials of its draughtsmen.

Apparently, a number of parties expressed interest in the company, among them the Cold Comfort Farm Trust, whose patron is Mr Didymus Mutasa; the then management of the company, and a group of Masvingo businessmen. The company was previously owned by a South African company, Dorbyl Engineering.

Apparently two ethnic groupings outplayed each other, with the result that the company was eventually taken over by the previous management, not the workers, until August, last year, when Mr Ndoro's new management changed the company's articles of association for it to become a genuinely worker-owned company. During these deliberations, the vice-president, Mr Simon Muzenda, took a keen interest in the manner in which all the negotiations were proceeding, and, indeed, in the day to running of the company. He did this in his capacity as the government representative ensuring the transfer of the company to the workers.

It was during the period that several suspensions, transfers, and removals took place, and trouble within the company started allegedly culminating in two ethnic groupings, Manyika and Karanga, vying for the control of the company.

The next major development took place towards the end of the last year, when the executive chairman, Mr Ndoro, accompanied senior Minister Dr Joshua Nkomo on an overseas tour. It was also at this time that the Development Trust of Zimbabwe expressed an interest in the ISP group, which was in vital need of foreign currency for expansion. The DTZ's interest was totally rejected by the ISP Trust Board, which was of the opinion that no group with political connections should be allowed to take shares in the company.

According to informed sources the vice-president was not totally amused when he learnt that negotiations had been going on for a possible investment in ISP by Dr Joshua Nkomo's DTZ, more so that Mr Ndoro had been on an overseas visit with the senior minister.

"That's when the trouble started," a source at ISP said.

Subsequently, a government appointed committee was assigned to investigate alleged mismanagement in the ISP group, which resulted in Mr Ndoro and other senior officials being asked to leave the company. [passage omitted]

#### \* ZANU (PF) Issues Election Manifesto

34000512A Harare THE HERALD in English  
5 Mar 90 pp 2,3

[Excerpts]

#### The Imperative of National Unity

On April 18, 1990, we will be celebrating the 10th anniversary of our independence. It is an event that will bring joy and happiness to the hearts of all Zimbabweans, irrespective of colour, race or region. The last 10 years have been difficult, formative years. However, with the support of our people, the Government and the Party have scored many major victories, the most important of which was the achievement and consolidation of national unity, sealed at the historic National People's Congress held in Harare on December 18-22 1989. The enemy had hoped to use the separation existence of PF-Zapu [Patriotic Front-Zimbabwe African People's Union] and Zanu (PF) [Zimbabwe African National Union Patriotic Front] to divide and confuse our people. But we seized the initiative from him by merging the two parties in the United Zanu (PF). [passage omitted]

Like other African countries, we have different social classes in Zimbabwe, which naturally vie for control of the levers of power. The Zanu (PF) Party is firmly committed to the establishment of a socialist society or system in the country. To that extent, it endeavours to empower the peasantry and the working class. In its evaluation, the Party believes that the fundamental principles to guide this socialist process must derive from Marxism-Leninism as an ideology. But, as we have emphasised before, this ideology must be adapted to our own objective and historical circumstances. The petty bourgeoisie, who are always waiting in the wings to seize power in order to reverse or slow down the thrust towards socialism, must find it increasingly difficult to derail a united party or movement with an irreversible commitment to the socialist process. This means any division or split in the ranks of the main producing social classes must be resisted and prevented as such division will provide the petty bourgeoisie with the opportunity to defeat the objectives of socialism. The workers and the peasants have thus everything to gain, and nothing to lose by uniting under the umbrella of Zanu (PF). [passage omitted]

#### The Land

The Party and Government will soon be introducing the Land Acquisition Bill in Parliament which will give Government more powers to acquire more land for resettlement wherever and whenever it is required. The President and First Secretary, Comrade R. G. Mugabe, has made it abundantly clear that land must be given to those who till it and need it for food production. He will not brook any criticism or interference in pursuing the goal of an equitable distribution of the land. [passage omitted]



**The Ten-Year Record of the Government—1980 to 1990**

The Government has achieved phenomenal successes in various fields of the national life, inspite of the limitations imposed by the Lancaster House Constitution, three years of severe drought, a world economic recession, and the destabilisation activities of the South African government. The provision of social services to all people has been remarkable, and the historical imbalances of racism is wealth and ownership of property is being redressed at

various levels. The record of the increasing provision of social services speaks for itself in facts and figures:

**Education**

Since independence, Government has placed high priority on education. Government spends about 25 percent of the national budget on education. This has resulted in a phenomenal increase in Primary School, Secondary and Higher Education enrollment. The total increase of School enrollment is 76 percent.

	1980	1989
Primary School Enrollment	1,635,944	2,267,269
Secondary School Enrollment	74,966	695,612
Technical and Vocational	6,593	55,028
University intake	1,941	10,000
Total	1,719,494	3,207,909

In a bid to increase educational opportunities for our people plans are well advanced to build a second university in Bulawayo and a third university in Mutare has been approved.

The Party and Government efforts to make polytechnic education available for a wider section of our population has resulted in the building of polytechnics in every province. At Independence there were only two technical and vocational institutions but to date we have 12 technical colleges with a total intake of 7,400 students.

The increased school enrollment has meant the employment of more teachers, and building more and better school buildings, especially in the rural areas.

For those Zimbabweans who are not in the regular school system, strenuous efforts have been made to provide life long education by the introduction of adult literacy programmes and pre-school education in both rural and urban areas.

In all three million Zimbabweans or one third of the population are engaged indirect learning everyday. Education has become a major industry in Zimbabwe.

**Health**

Phenomenal amount of work has been done to bring modern health facilities to the people in the rural areas and peri-urban areas. A major effort has also been to prevent diseases by drinking clean water and immunising children. The Ministry of Health is committed to the strategy of primary health care which emphasises preventive, curative and rehabilitative services. In summary, the Party and Government have achieved the following in the last nine years:

a) Infant mortality reduced from approximately 120 for every 1,000 live births at independence to 70 for every 1,000 live births in 1989.

b) The immunisation coverage has increased from 25 percent of children fully immunised in 1984 to 70 percent in 1989.

c) More than 90 percent of women now attend antenatal clinics and almost 60 percent now deliver in clinics.

d) The rate of women using contraceptives has increased from 14 percent in 1984 to 43 percent in 1988.

e) Clean water, sanitation and primary health care programmes have been well received by the people, complemented by continued and increased training and deployment of various health cadres including village health workers, traditional midwives, doctors, etc.

f) Intake of medical students at the University of Zimbabwe has doubled i.e. from 40 to 80 percent.

g) The construction of health facilities has progressed satisfactorily with:

(i) Over 450 rural health care centres constructed and 231 under construction.

(ii) A new general hospital in Chitungwiza.

(iii) 103 houses for community sisters and 36 houses for paraplegics were completed.

(iv) As part of the ongoing exercise to strengthen health facilities at district hospitals (one per province) at 57 associated rural clinics have been up-graded.

**Number of Health Personnel Deployed in the Public Sector Only 1981 and 1989**

	1981	1989
Doctors	346	644
State Registered Nurses	2,057	3,924
Certified Nurses	2,622	6,493
Environmental Health Officers	75	135
Environmental Health Technicians	343	682

### **Agriculture**

In a bid to redress the imbalance of the colonial system with respect to land ownership, food production, and employment creation, and the generation of foreign currency, the government undertook the following programmes:

#### **Redistribution of Land**

In 1981, Government set out to resettle 162,000 families on nine million hectares. The provisions of the Lancaster House Constitution, including the need for immediate or cash payment for the land, as well as severe drought conditions and limited funds for the provision of grants to settlers, and escalating costs of land has slowed down the pace of resettlement. Government has so far managed to resettle 51,235 families on a total of 1,536,719 hectares at a cost of \$5 billion. The Party and Government will soon be introducing the Land Acquisition Bill in Parliament which will give Government drastic powers with which to proceed speedily in acquiring land, wherever it is, for resettlement purposes. As a result of the enlightened government policy, that in addition to providing back-up services of Agritex, financial facilities of the Agricultural Finance Corporation (AFC) and a system of price control incentives, the Zimbabwe agricultural sector, particularly, the hitherto neglected peasant sector, has witnessed unprecedented expansion. At independence only 5-10 percent of marketed maize an cotton was produced by communal farmers. Today, however, the communal agricultural sector accounts for 60 percent and 50 percent of total maize and cotton production respectively. This is an enviable achievement by any standard, and represents the pattern in respect of most agricultural commodities.

To assist in the marketing and transportation of agricultural commodities, particularly from the rural areas, the Government has built large grain depots in communal areas to receive and store grain produced by peasant farmers.

No less than 20 such depots have been established. In order to relieve peasants of the burden of transport, the Grain Marketing Board has established 192 collection points for grain in the communal areas. No peasant is more than 10 kilometres from a depot or a collection point where he can deliver his produce. [passage omitted]

#### **Social Security**

The Party and its Government has enacted a National Social Security Authority Act No 12 of 1989 which provides for the establishment of comprehensive social security schemes for the protection of employees against any mishaps that result in income loss or reduction.

The schemes will provide cash benefits for retirement, protection to the survivors after the death of a breadwinner, sickness, maternity and compensation for employment related injuries.

The Party through its Government will strive to ensure that all peasants and workers are protected against loss of income. [passage omitted]

#### **Land Resettlement**

Looking at the road ahead of us, during the second phase of our revolution, the party will strive for a just agrarian policy aimed at transferring land to those who till it. To implement the resolutions adopted at the recent unity congress, the Party will vigorously pursue a resettlement policy resigned adopted at the recent unity congress, the Party will vigorously pursue a resettlement policy designed to accommodate all the landless and displaced persons in a manner that will make possible for them to have viable economic lives. Our revised resettlement programme will seek to resettle thousands of families each year on a comprehensive but systematic basis.

In addition the Government will expand and intensify the provision of extension services to both commercial and peasant farmers so that they can further improve their yields and undertake better soil management. All unutilised and under-utilised land should be fully utilised. The newly set up Irrigation Fund will be made available to the farmers in order to accelerate the irrigation programme and diversify the crops produced. The Party will direct the Government to examine the question of water rights with a view to improving the existing law in favour of the people as a whole. [passage omitted]

#### **The Security of Our Nation**

Our security forces are tasked to provide information gathered from within and without to enable the Party and Government to take appropriate decisions related to defending the country and providing peace and security which is essential for continued economic and political development of Zimbabwe.

Though banditry activities once rife in Matabeleland and Midlands provinces have ceased following the signing of the Unity Accord between Zanu (PF) [Zimbabwe African National Union Patriotic Front] and PF-Zanu [Patriotic Front-Zimbabwe African People's Union], MNR [Mozambique National Resistance] bandit infiltration remains an area of concern.

Our forces in Mozambique will remain in that country to defend a friendly neighbouring country, and to protect our routes to the sea as long as the MNR bandits continue to attack and kill innocent civilians in that country. The MNR bandits cross the border from time to time and raid Zimbabwean villages for food and livestock, sometimes killing and maiming innocent villagers, and destroying property. In such instances we pursue the bandits and mete out heavy punishment. However Government is instructed to continue the peace efforts for the purpose of bringing peace by negotiation. Our role in the peace effort, as in the armed conflict, is to support and strengthen the position of the government of Mozambique.

South Africa continues to pose a threat to our peace and security and the security agents of the Party and its government must therefore continue to be ever vigilant and safeguard our hard won independence. [passage omitted]

### University Students

University students can play an important role in stimulating debate on current issues, and sharpening the ideological views of the Party. Those students who are members of Zanu (PF) should step up the recruiting campaign and ideological work. Those students who are opposed to Zanu (PF) are free to channel their support to the other political parties fighting this election. They are free to challenge us in the political field, and to try to persuade the voters about the correctness of their reactionary and rightist position. What cannot be tolerated by any government is a direct challenge from the students' union, that we should not do this or do that. The university is financed by the Government to the tune of \$77,897,000 in this financial year alone. Since independence Government has spent a further \$92,690,000 on capital developments at the university. It is part and parcel of the governmental system of this country. Therefore, the students' union cannot dictate to Government on matters of policy concerning the university, or on the general maintenance of law and peace. [passage omitted]

### Foreign Affairs

In the field of foreign affairs, the Party remains guided by principles of non-alignment, Pan Africanism and a desire to establish and maintain cordial relations with the progressive parties, governments, associations and organisations all over the world. Though the Party adheres to the policy of peaceful co-existence, it remains opposed to imperialism and all forms of oppression and domination.

Taking cognisance of its experience in the struggle against colonialism, racism and imperialism, the Party will:

a) Support all efforts of other developing countries to free themselves from the effects of the debt crisis in Africa, Asia and Latin America through the establishment of a new economic order that will sustain the development of the south and improve trade relations both between north and south as well as south to south co-operation.

b) Support the State of Palestine and efforts to convene an international conference to curb the aggressive and expansionist stance of Zionist Israel.

c) In Southern Africa the Party:

(i) Seeks the abolition of apartheid and the establishment of majority rule and a non-racial society in South Africa.

(ii) Continues to support Swapo [South-West African People's Organization] as it progresses to establish an independent and democratic Namibia.

(iii) Supports the genuine peace efforts in Angola and Mozambique under the leadership of the MPLA [Popular Movement for the Liberation of Angola] and Frelimo [Mozambique Liberation Front].

(iv) While welcoming the release of Nelson Mandela and the unbanning of the ANC [African National Congress] and other political organisations calls on the international community to support efforts by the ANC and PAC [Pan-Africanist Congress] to dismantle apartheid and establish a democratic state in South Africa.

d) The Party is studying very closely the events in Eastern Europe and trying to learn from the experience they have had. The Party will continue the policy of close collaboration with socialist countries and strengthening the voice of Third world countries in international affairs and politics.

### Conclusion

Zanu (PF) and its Government will make determined efforts to ensure that this manifesto is fully implemented. As a patriotic and revolutionary Party that waged a victorious liberation struggle, it is certain to surmount all obstacles, and to win the second phase of our revolution.

### \* Libyan Embassy Makes Political Contribution

34000516B Harare THE HERALD in English  
28 Mar 90 p 5

[Excerpt] The Zanu (PF) [Zimbabwe African National Union Patriotic Front] election campaign yesterday received a major boost from the Libyan embassy with a \$240,211.39 cheque.

Presenting the money to the Zanu (PF)'s secretary for publicity and information, Cde Nathan Shamuyarira, the Libyan Charge d'Affaires to Zimbabwe, Mr Fathi Gebriel, said Libya had supported the Zimbabwean liberation struggle and would continue to support the unity between the people of Zimbabwe under the leadership of President Mugabe.

Receiving the money, Cde Shamuyarira said Zanu (PF) was grateful for the support shown by the Libyans. Their support, Cde Shamuyarira said, would strengthen Zimbabwe's revolutionary tasks ahead. He said the gift showed solidarity between Libya and Zimbabwe and the friendship between the Libyan leader, Colonel Muammar Gaddafi, and President Mugabe. [passage omitted]

**\* De Klerk Should Disband 'Radio Truth'**

34000516C Harare THE HERALD in English  
31 Mar 90 p 4

[Text] President F.W. de Klerk has said that South Africa is at the "dawn of the new era," and that he wants peace. However, the vehemence and increased frequency of broadcasts by Radio Truth, which is used to engender hostility to the Government of Zimbabwe, are in sharp contrast with his peace overtures.

And since last Sunday, an African National Congress delegation from Lusaka has not arrived in South Africa to begin negotiations on an agenda for peace talks, because no sufficient guarantees about their safety have been made.

Sufficient guarantees for the safe return of the exiled ANC [African National Congress] members must be spelt out clearly to show Pretoria's willingness and commitment to work out a negotiated solution to the problems that face South Africa.

It is not just a question of granting immunity from arrest and prosecution for the exiled ANC team. There have to be assurances on the safety of these men from elements of the ultra-right fanatics such as the AWB [Afrikaner Resistance Movement]. The ANC men also require protection from some internal blacks who fear they will be marginalised by the arrival of the exiled leaders who will now be negotiating with the South African government.

There is therefore a contradiction between what President de Klerk says and tells the world, and what his country and government does to the liberation movements and the Frontline States.

There is also a pattern emerging in the posture South Africa is adopting towards the Frontline States. In the past, its destabilisation activities were characterised by bombings and raids on Gaborone, Lusaka and Harare. The shift is now towards increased radio propaganda broadcasts.

In the case of Zimbabwe, over the past several months, Radio Truth has made no secret of its abhorrence of the Government. It has openly declared its support for the opposition here. If President de Klerk wants to promote peace, he has to be certain that what Pretoria says and means, is what it does exactly. Otherwise he runs the risk of being misunderstood. He would then have only himself and his government to blame.

We know that acts of destabilisation and disinformation, by and large, have been a "project" of the South African Defence Force. The challenge for President de Klerk is to demonstrate to the Frontline States and the wider world community that he can now bring his military to heel. Otherwise the increasingly hostile posture towards Zimbabwe and Mozambique by Radio Truth and its MNR [Mozambique National Resistance] counterpart should be seen as a challenge to President de Klerk by the military, amid increasing demands for the sacking of Defence Minister General Magnus Malan.

Radio Truth was launched in early 1983 with the specific task of sowing seeds of discord and confusion among the population in Matabeleland. Its strategy now appears to be aimed at inciting the public in Zimbabwe and the armed forces against the Government.

President de Klerk needs to urgently overcome this credibility crisis. One way of doing this is to disband Radio Truth and all other clandestine operations conducted from the same station.



## Guinea-Bissau

### Communique Accuses Senegal of Overflights

AB0305183190 Dakar PANA in French 1113 GMT  
3 May 90

[Text] Bissau, 3 May (ANG/PANA)—Guinea-Bissau has again appealed to the international community to take decisive action in the search for a solution to its border conflict with Senegal in order to forestall any military confrontation and unnecessary suffering to the peoples of the two countries, an official communique indicated.

Published yesterday in Bissau by the Ministry of Foreign Affairs, the communique disclosed that a Senegalese "Cessna" type reconnaissance aircraft has again violated Guinea-Bissau airspace on 27 April by flying over the localities of Guidadje and Bigene (north of the country). "Our people, who had to wage a long and hard war for their independence, know very well the kind of sacrifices entailed by war, and will seek, every way possible, to propose reasonable and peaceful solutions that will lead to a peaceful resolution of the border dispute between the two countries," the communique stressed.

The communique of the Guinea-Bissau Ministry of Foreign Affairs further states that Senegal has on several occasions carried out sea, air, and land violations of Guinea-Bissau territory, and that on each occasion, it has always denounced such actions by drawing the attention of the international community to the consequences which could arise from these "belligerent acts." On 21 and 23 April, another Senegalese reconnaissance aircraft spent a long time overflying the Pirada region (eastern Guinea-Bissau). Shortly before then, on 17 April, a Senegalese registered aircraft also violated Guinea-Bissau airspace by flying over the Sucudjaque and Bassor localities located in the north of the country. In another development on 11 April, the Senegalese Navy arrested a Soviet fishing vessel flying the Guinea-Bissau flag and legally going about its business with a fishing license issued by the Bissau authorities.

The various Guinea-Bissau Foreign Ministry communiqués stated on each occasion that the Bissau Government has always acted in good faith and in the spirit of preserving bonds of good neighborliness. This is borne out by the series of appeals for common sense and moderation which it has never ceased to address to the Dakar authorities in the interest of the two brotherly peoples and peace in the subregion.

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7 May 90

